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D'Alton, John.
Memoirs of the archbishops
of Dublin

To Thomas Brodie Esqr

&c &c &c

Alton Place

with the sincerest respect

The Author

THE

MEMOIRS

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

BY

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BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN,

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

The Diocese of Dublin has been during so many centuries united with that of Glendalough, that it is difficult to treat of either exclusively. Together they extend over a surface of about fifty Irish miles in length by thirty-six in the greatest breadth, comprising the whole of the County of Dublin, the most of Wicklow, a great part of Kildare, and portions of the Queen's County and Wexford, an estimated area of 477,950A., of which 142,050A. are in the County of Dublin, 257,400A. in Wicklow, 75,000A. in Kildare, 600A. in the Queen's County, and 2,900A. in Wexford. The acreable quantity of church lands belonging to the united sees, and lying within the above scope, has been returned in 1831 as 23,926A. profitable, and 7,100A. unprofitable, let at £3,202 per annum and £4,257 annual renewal fines. While a return of 1833 states the respective number and value of the benefices in both sees as, forty worth

from £30 to £200 per annum; twelve from £200 to £250; eight from £250 to £300; seven from £300 to £350; eight from £350 to £400; four from £400 to £450; six from £450 to £500; nine from £500 to £550; four from £550 to £600; two from £600 to £650; four from £650 to £700; three from £700 to £750; four from £750 to £1000; two from £1100 to £1200; and one from £1300 to £1350 per annum. The gross income of those 114 benefices being calculated as £24,363 18*s.* 6*d.*, exclusive of the values of thirty-eight other benefices not returned in the estimate. The patronage of the whole may be thus classified.—The Crown presents to fourteen; the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and the three Chief Judges, in conjunction with his Grace the Archbishop, to two; the chapter of Christ Church, or its members separately, to ten; lay patrons to eighteen, and the Archbishop to the remainder.

The union of the bishopries, alluded to, took place in the year 1214, and still subsists; both having been thereupon divided into ten deaneries, severally styled; —1. Decanatus Christianitatis, Dublin; 2. Taney; 3. Swords; 4. Ballymore; 5. Bray; 6. Wicklow; 7. Arklow; 8. Castledermot; 9. Athy; and 10. De Saltû Salmonis. The number has been since increased to twelve, the names of which stand thus in the Consistorial Registry of this diocese, viz. 1. Decanatus Christianitatis, Dublin; 2. Swords; 3. Lusk; 4. Finglas; 5. Newcastle; 6. Taney; 7. De Saltû Salmonis, *alias* Leixlip; 8. Bray; 9. Wicklow; 10.

Arklow; 11. Ballymore; and 12. Omurthy; which last denomination includes the two more ancient deaneries of Castledermot and Athy.

The dignitary, who presided over this most important province of Ireland, was not only anciently honoured with a seat in the King's Privy Council in England, where he used to attend his Majesty in many weighty consultations, as shewn hereafter, but had also within his liberties of the Cross,* or his own church-lands, the rights of a prince palatine, with the power of even condemning to death criminals offending therein, for whose execution a gallows was erected at Harold's Cross. It is, perhaps, needless to remark, that this extremity of jurisdiction is now altogether disused; his seneschal, however, still holds a court for other purposes of the archiepiscopal authority, in a handsome structure erected in Upper Bride-street, adjoining to which is the gaol for confining debtors within his liberties. This officer is usually a barrister, selected by the prelate's appointment, as confirmed by the respective deans and chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, and the individual so named chooses his own register, who is always an attorney of the superior courts. The Archbishop also holds a Consistorial Court at the King's Inns, and, besides his other extensive franchises, the regulation of the police in the manor or liberty of St. Sepulchre was, until modern enactments, vested in his officers, as fully as it existed in the city magistrates for the liberty

* See "History of the County of Dublin," at "Swords" in 1465.

of the city; he has, likewise, the right of a market in Patrick-street.

There are in the diocese of Dublin two cathedrals, a peculiarity in which Saragossa alone participates. Both of those are situated within the city and liberties of Dublin, viz. Christ Church and St. Patrick's, of which it is only necessary here to remark, that the former was built about the year 1038, and that its chapter consists of the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the archdeacon of Dublin, and three prebendaries, besides two clerical and seven lay vicars-choral; while the latter was built about the year 1190, on the site of an old parochial church which was said to have been erected by St. Patrick. Its chapter is constituted of a dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the archdeacons of Dublin and Glendalough, and twenty prebendaries, the prebend of Cullen being united to the archbishopric. There are also in this establishment four minor canons, four clerical and seven lay vicars-choral. The present dignitaries and prebendaries of both cathedrals are as follow:—

CHRIST CHURCH.

	Established.	*Roman Catholic.*
Dean.	The Lord Bishop of Kildare.	[Christ Church having
Precentor.	. . . . .	been constituted a ca-
Chancellor.	Rev. Stewart Segar Trench.	thedral by Henry the
Treasurer.	Venerable Henry Cotton.	Eighth, after his renun-
Archdeacon of Dublin.	Venerable John Torrens.	ciation of the Pope's supremacy, its digni-
	PREBENDARIES.	ties are not continued
St. Michael's.	Venerable Thos. B. Monsell.	in the Roman Catholic
St. Michan's.	Rev. John Rowley.	Hierarchy.]
St. John's.	Venerable T. P. Magee.	

ST. PATRICK'S.

	Established.	*Roman Catholic.*
Dean.	Very Rev. H. R. Dawson.	Very Rev. P. Coleman, (styled Vicar General.)
Precentor.	Rev. John Wilson.	Very Rev. W. Meyler, (styled Vicar General.)
Chancellor.	Rev. Hosea Guinness.	Rev. M. Flanagan.
Treasurer.	Rev. James H. Todd.	Rev. A. O'Connell.
Archdeacon of Dublin.	Very Rev. John Torrens.	Rev. John Hamilton.
Archdeacon of Glendalough.	Very Rev. J. Langrish.	Rev. W. Yore.
	PREBENDARIES.	
Cullen.	His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.	Rev. M. Toole.
Kilmactalway.	Rev. John Reade.	Rev. Edan Redmond.
Swords.	Rev. W. Magee.	Rev. W. Stafford.
St. Jagoe.	Rev. W. H. Irvine.	Rev. P. Woods.
St. Audeon's.	Rev. Charles Strong.	Rev. John Grant.
Clonmethan.	Rev. M. L. Short.	Rev. James Campbell.
Wicklow.	Rev. Archd. T. P. Magee.	Rev. M. Doyle.
Timothan.	Rev. L. Coddington.	Rev. James Monks.
Mullaghiddart.	Rev. W. L. Mayers.	Rev. Aug. Costigan.
Castleknock.	Rev. George O'Connor.	Rev. John Ennis.
Tipper.	Rev. Walter Burgh.	Rev. M. Kelly.
Tassagard.	Venerable C. Irwin.	Rev. J. W. M'Gauley.
Dunlavin.	Rev. M. Morgan.	Rev. C. Rooney.
Maynooth.	Rev. Thomas Tisdal.	Rev. J. Miley.
Howth.	Rev. A. Irwin.	Rev. C. J. Finn.
Rathmichael.	Rev. J. Hunt.	Rev. J. Coleman.
Monmohenock.	Rev. L. Fitzgibbon.	Rev. A. Roche.
Tipperkevin.	Rev. John Crosthwaite.	Rev. J. Laphen, and Rev. P. J. Doyle.
Donaghmore.	Rev. F. E. Trench.	Rev. J. P. Kearney, and Rev. W. Meagher.
Stagonil.	Rev. R. Daly.	Rev. P. Cooper.

It has been alleged by some, in order to account for the singular occurrence of two cathedrals in one city, that St. Patrick's was the cathedral of Glendalough, and Christ Church of Dublin. Mr. Mason, however, in his invaluable history of the former edifice, successfully combats this opinion, and proves that both belonged to Dublin ;* in accordance with which conclusion, it is to be observed, that, before St. Patrick's cathedral was built, or the union of the sees contemplated, the church, on whose site it was erected, was (in 1179) in Pope Alexander's Bull described as one of the parishes and within the diocese of Dublin ; while a contemporaneous Bull of the same Pope mentions the cathedral of Glendalough as being in the little city of that name, where its ruins are still identified.

In 1214, as before mentioned, the two sees were united, for the reasons explicitly declared in the Testimonial of Felix O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam, and of his suffragans to whom the Pope had occasion to refer the subject. The original of this curious ecclesiastical instrument is still extant in the archives of Christ Church, and has the archbishop's seal pendant to it, but those of his suffragans have crumbled away. It is neither dated nor witnessed, but appears evidently from its contents to have been drawn up in the year 1214, immediately upon the death of William Piro the last recognised Bishop of Glendalough, and refers to those grants and documents hereinafter

* See Mason's Hist. St. Patrick's Cathedral, p. 4.

more particularly noticed in the order of their respective dates. The document is in the following words: "A letter concerning the Palls sent into Ireland. The testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans: Master John Paparo, legate of the Roman See, coming into Ireland, found a bishop dwelling at Dublin, who then exercised episcopal offices within the walls. He found in the same diocese another church (ecclesiam) in the mountainous parts, which was also called a city, and had a certain rural bishop (chorepiscopum), but the same legate appointed Dublin, which was the best city, the metropolis of that province, delivering the pall to that bishop who then governed the church of Dublin; and he appointed that that diocese, in which both cities were, should be divided, the one part thereof to fall to the metropolis, the other to remain to him who lived in the mountains, with the intention (as we firmly believe), that that part also should revert to the metropolis, on the death of the bishop who then governed in the mountains. Which object he would have immediately effected, had not the insolence of the Irishry, who then had power in that territory, obstructed him. When the Lord Henry, King of England, learned from many what had been the intention of the said legate, he granted the church in the mountains to the metropolis, adhering to the intention and will of the said legate. In like manner our present Lord John, King of England, having heard from the great and credible men of that territory, what the said legate did and intended, granted the said part to John the

predecessor of the present Archbishop of Dublin. Besides, that holy church in the mountains, although anciently held in great veneration on account of St. Kevin, who there led an eremite life, has been so deserted and desolate for the last forty years, that instead of a church it is a cave of robbers, and a hot bed of thieves, so that more homicides are committed in that valley than in any other part of Ireland, on account of its deserted and extensive solitude."

Accordingly a Bull of Pope Innocent the Third, dated the 25th of February, 1215, details the particulars of the above testimonial, and ratifies the union; while another Bull of the same Pontiff of the 18th of May, 1216, enumerating and confirming the suffragan sees of the province of Dublin, omits Glendalough, as then merged in it; and a Bull of Pope Honorius the Third further enforces the acts of his predecessor in this matter.

Immediately after this event, the chapter of St. Patrick's, having asserted that that of Glendalough was thereby abolished, transmitted a petition to the Court of Rome relative to the difference which arose thereout between them and R. de Bedford, then Dean of Glendalough, and afterwards Bishop of Lismore. The subject was thereupon referred by the Pope to the said Felix O'Ruadan, Archbishop of Tuam, whose decree in favour of the chapter of Glendalough was confirmed by Pope Honorius in the first year of his pontificate,* from which time both chapters, although distinct cor-

* Allen's Registry.

porations, became canonically united, and possessed of equal power and interest in all matters that concerned the diocese.

It would be now extremely difficult to define the precise limits of the respective bishopries, as they existed immediately previous to the time of their union. From a consideration, however, of two Bulls of Pope Alexander the Third, both dated in 1179, and extant in the *Crede Mihi*, and of certain grants of John Earl of Moreton, hereafter mentioned, the boundary of the see of Dublin may be defined, as having included Dalkey and its island, Kiltue (near Crinken), Rathmichael, Kilgobbin, half Taney, Rathfarnham, Kilnasantan (St. Anne's church), Tallagh, Clondalkin, Rathcoole, and by Alderg, &c.; while the parallel of Glendalough comprised Shankhill, Stagonil, half Taney, Newcastle, Lyons, by Alderg, Confee, Larabrien, Tachdoe, Stacumney, &c. Kilcullen was indisputably in Glendalough diocese, Alderg was so much on the confines, that an inquisition was necessitated in 1329 to determine to which see it appertained, when, it being proved that it paid half a mark proxies to the Archdeacon of Dublin, the jury gave their verdict accordingly in favour of that diocese.

Such having been the extent of Dublin as a diocese, it is to be observed, that as an ecclesiastical province it comprehended, with the sees of Dublin and Glendalough, those of Kildare, Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, all being included within the civil province of Leinster. Under the Church Temporalities' Act, however, the Bishopric of Kildare is, on its next

vacancy, to be permanently united with those of Dublin and Glendalough; and, in like manner, the Bishopric of Ossory is on vacancy to be permanently united with those of Ferns and Leighlin. The act also provides, that, on the next avoidance of the see of Cashel, that province is to be reduced to the rank of a bishopric, and, together with all its dependant sees, is to be suffragan to the Archbishop of Dublin, whose jurisdiction will then extend over the whole of Munster, the greater part of Leinster, and a certain portion of Galway in Connaught.

Having premised thus much in relation to the statistics of the diocese, the records of its history next invite attention, and, although it would be difficult to attain any positive evidence that Dublin was the seat of a bishop's jurisdiction so early as the time of St. Patrick, yet, as he founded a church there about the year 456, it may be reasonably inferred, that he did not in that particular instance deviate from the practice of Episcopal Church Government, which he introduced in other parts of the island.

Christianity, it may be here necessary to observe, had made some progress in Ireland before his mission.* Tertullian in the first century mentions, that parts of the British Islands, which had never been approached by the Romans, were subjected to true Christianity, Britain and Ireland being both de-

* See very fully on this subject, a prize "Essay" written by the author of this work, and published in the Royal Irish Academy Transactions, vol. xvi. part 1., from which the above is chiefly extracted, and where the authorities are given.

nominated by the Romans British Islands, and so Baronius construes the passage. Eusebius more than confirms Tertullian, for he asserts that some of the apostles had proceeded beyond the ocean to the islands called British, in which he is followed by Nicephorus, who, in his account of the dispersion of the apostles, says, that one chose Egypt and Libya, while another was appointed for the remote islands of the ocean, and for the British Isles. Vincentius of Beaumais particularizes James the son of Zebedee as having preached in Ireland, and selected seven disciples there with whom he went to Jerusalem, where he suffered martyrdom; to which Julian of Toledo, in his Chronicle, adds, that not only was St. James in Ireland, but that he addressed thence a canonical letter to the Jews who were scattered through Spain. The Irish annals further suggest this early introduction of the faith, when they allege, that in the middle of the third century Cormac King of Ireland carried on a theological discussion with its heathen priesthood so earnestly, that his sudden death is attributed to their provoked resentment. St. Chrysostom in the fourth century asserts, that the inhabitants of the British Islands not only believed in Christ, but erected churches and altars of sacrifice to God. Rupert states, that in 350 Elephius, the son of a Scoto-Hibernian King, suffered martyrdom, having been decapitated by the Emperor Julian, who was present at the execution; and Gennadius records, that subsequently Celestius, when a very youth, wrote, from the monastery where he sojourned, three letters

in the manner of little books to his parents in Ireland, which writings, he adds, are necessary to every one who has the love of God. This very Celestius, however, afterwards became the great disciple of Pelagius and the advocate of his heresy, in consequence of which he was in the year 412 condemned in the synod of Carthage; St. Jerome, in the most obvious interpretation of his words, says, that Celestius was an Irishman, but some refer the words, according to the only other sense in which they can be understood, to Pelagius himself.*

Prosper expressly writes, that St. Patrick was sent from Rome the first Bishop to those of the Scots (the Irish were then exclusively so called) that believed in Christ; while Bede affirms, that it was not the custom of the Church of Rome to ordain a bishop for any nation, before Christianity had established some roots there; and accordingly various saints are actually enumerated as of Ireland before St. Patrick, or Palladius who immediately preceded him. It has, however, been urged, in evidence of the paucity of this Christian congregation, that Palladius, when he was leaving this country in despair, considered two monks and three churches sufficient "for the spiritual service of the scanty converts."† Yet it should be considered that Palladius was scarcely one year in the country, and that his ministry was exercised but very partially: St. Patrick

* See St. Jerome, Prol. ad L. 3. Comment. in Jeremiam, and Prol. ad L. 1. of the same Commentaries.

† Bolland. Vita S. Patricii, p. 580.

admits, in the works attributed to him, that he did encounter, in the earlier portion of his progresses through Ireland, persons who had been baptized; and undoubtedly his successful reception here must have been greatly attributable to these precursors. Their labours and pious exercises were the faint twilight of the Christian revelation, that first broke upon Ireland, and but foretokened the coming of him, who was happily to fulfil the alleged prediction of the Magian prophets,* and whom all tradition and biography mark as the apostle of universal Ireland.

It is not necessary here to enter into the controversies, that some Hardouins have sought to raise against the voice of history, in reference to the birthplace, the era, and even the existence of this Irish missionary. If the two last points of scepticism were as innocent as the first, they should never have been noticed; all have, however, been discussed in the "Essay" before alluded to, to which it may here suffice to refer. The results of his preaching are yet more evident; it threw a sudden charm over the island; the inquiring flocked to him from every quarter, and went back to their families, converts and proselytes; episcopal jurisdictions were marked out, and prelates and clergymen were appointed, in numbers sufficient for the labours of religious controversy and spiritual direction. Ecclesiastical schools were every where established; the country was filled

* "A perverse and obstinate prophet shall come from parts beyond the sea, to preach a new doctrine, to whom many will lend their attention, and few resist his progress." COLGAN. *Trias Thaum.* p. 123.

with bishops, priests, and religious houses ; the monks dispersed themselves over every district, and no place was more justly celebrated for the sanctity and learning of its several monastic fraternities. The retreats, which they selected, they cleared and cultivated with their own hands ; they fasted and prayed without intermission, instructing even more by their example than their precept, until the country of their mission was hallowed by the glorious appellation—the Island of Saints.

It has been remarked, that this "quick and easy reception of Christianity in Ireland, is an unequivocal proof, not only of the liberal and tolerating spirit of the religion it supplanted, but also of enlightened civilization and charitable forbearance, certainly without parallel in the early records of the Christian world." The glorious result must also bear eloquent testimony to the mild and conciliating manners of the new priesthood, the charities with which they insinuated their doctrine into the heart of the country, founding their seminaries where the Magi (as the pagan priesthood of Ireland were properly denominated) had taught, enclosing their casiols in the groves of the ancient rites, carving the symbol of Christianity on the pillar stones of heathenism ; consecrating, as stations for prayer, those wells which had been invested with immemorial superstitions, kindling the bel-tinne for purposes of innocent diversion, perpetuating the sacred fire on the altar of the Most High, and above all, constructing the simple models of their churches in the shadow of the round towers ;

thus, in every scene and object, imperceptibly succeeding to the veneration and authority of their pagan predecessors.

They were, however, not the less firm where firmness was essential. They diligently expounded the scriptures to the people ;* the enemy were met in controversy at their strongest holds ; and piles of heathen learning, the spoils of victory, were consigned to destruction. St. Patrick sanctioned the policy of this despoliation, and is said to have destroyed with his own hand two hundred volumes of the writings of the "Magi." His successors, no less zealous in the cause of truth, well merited those praises which Camden so liberally bestowed upon them. Enlarging their schools, multiplying their churches, fixing themselves as beacons of salvation in the wildest districts, and every where edifying by their example, they attracted around them the young and the old, while the converts gladly flocked to their habitations for more frequent spiritual assistance, until little towns were associated, and monasteries and colleges incorporated. Paganism could not long withstand the powerful and exemplary superiority of such teachers ; like a mist before the rising day, it passed off from the broad face of the country, and only hung in thick but partial cloudiness over the deeper valleys and remoter islands of the west, or the kindred mountains of Caledonia. From the numerous stone altars, pillar stones, circles, and other like remains of

* Jonas Vit. Columb. c. 2.

architecture, that Mr. Hardiman, in his valuable History of Galway describes, as existing in the Isles of Arran, it would seem that these lonely rocks afforded it a last retreat; while the two round towers, apparently the most modern of such erections, that still remain in Scotland, furnish similar architectural evidence as to that country, a position which Adamnan yet more satisfactorily supports in his Life of St. Columba, (lib. ii. c. 34.)

To enter into the evidences of the Christian doctrine then preached, as developed in the writings of St. Patrick, and of other holy men of the immediately succeeding centuries, previous to the demoralizing effects of the Danish invasion, would involve a controversy which a layman should hesitate to undertake, and which is cheerfully committed to those who may be more able and willing to conduct it. In strict reference, therefore, to the hierarchy of the selected district, although, as before suggested, the materials for any history of the prelates of Dublin, from the foundation of its church by St. Patrick, down to the time of Bishop Donatus the Dane, are slender and doubtful, yet are there some afforded, at least from the middle of the seventh century, which it would be unjustifiable to suppress.

LIVINUS.

[Ob. 656.]

Livinus is mentioned as "Bishop of Dublin" in the *Officia Propria*, &c., of Burke, who adds, that he

succeeded his uncle Melanchus in this see. That he was a native of Ireland, and received his education there, all authorities, Bale, Molanus, Mabillon, Fleury, &c., admit, and Miræus says, he was the son of persons of distinction in that country. It is likewise agreed by all, that he was an Irish bishop, and his own poetical epistle to the Abbot Florbert, as given in Ussher, *Epist. Hib. Syll. N.* 8, confirms this; Masseus and others state, that, actuated by religious zeal, having entrusted his diocese in Ireland to the management of its archdeacon, he passed over to Ghent with three of his disciples, continued there for a month, during which he every day offered up the mass at the tomb of St. Bavo, and afterwards went to Esca, where he preached the gospel and converted numbers, until he was murdered by some of its pagan inhabitants on the twelfth of November in the year 656. He was buried at Hautam, whence his remains were translated in 1006 to the great monastery of St. Peter's at Ghent, and ultimately deposited in the Cathedral of St. Bavo, on the festival of Saints Peter and Paul in the same year.

In the poetical epistle of Livinus, above alluded to, occur several passages, that do honour to the classical taste of the Irish schools of that period.

" Audeo mira loqui, solem sine lumine vidi;
Est sine luce dies, sic sine pace quies;
Hos postquam populos conspexi luce serenâ,
Sol mihi non luxit, nox fuit una mihi.
Impia barbarico gens exagitata tumultu
Hic Bracbanta furit, meque cruenta petit;

Quid tibi peccavi, qui pacis nuntia porto,
Pax est quod porto, cur mihi bella moves ?
* * * * * * * *
Egressus patriâ pompæ mortalis honorem
Sprevi, devovi, spes Deus una mihi ;" &c. &c.

An epitaph on St. Bavo by him is also extant, equally creditable to his taste and literary acquirements. It is published by Usher and Mabillon, (*Sæc.* ii. *Ben.* p. 461,) and read in the old office of St. Bavo at Ghent, published by Gerard Salenson. Mabillon gives a life of Livinus, written by an ecclesiastic, named Boniface. See also Bale, Sanders, Colgan, &c. for further particulars of this prelate ; while, in affirmance of the accredited tradition that he should be ranked as here, it is to be observed that the decree of Pope Benedict the Fourteenth, dated on the 1st of July, 1747, granted at the solicitation of the clergy of Ireland, and confirming the offices and masses of the saints of their nation, expressly styles St. Livinus Bishop of Dublin and Martyr, and states the 12th of November as the anniversary of his commemoration.*

ST. WIRO.

[ ]

St. Wiro was born in Ireland, it is supposed in the district now called the county of Clare. His parents, who are said to have been of considerable rank, diligently attended to the formation of his mind in virtue

* De Burgo's Hib. Dom. p. 3.

and learning; and with such success, that he was, at an early period of his life, elected Bishop of Dublin; and, although greatly reluctant to assume its responsibilities, was compelled by the people to take upon him that high charge. He accordingly went to Rome to receive consecration from the Pope. Plechelmus, a priest, accompanied him in his journey, and was consecrated with him at Rome, whence Wiro, returning to Ireland, was received in that country with extraordinary joy. He governed this see for some time, and obtained a high reputation on account of his sanctity, but at last resigned his bishopric and went to Gaul, where he was honourably received by Duke Pepin de Heristall, "the mighty ruler and father of kings," who chose him for his confessor, and assigned to him a place proper for retirement and contemplation, called Mons Petri, in the diocese of Liege. Here St. Wiro built an oratory, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and called it St. Peter's monastery. After attaining a great age, he at last died of a fever on the 8th of May, on which day his festival is observed, but the precise year of his death is very uncertain; that assigned by Harris is evidently as erroneous as the period to which he refers the martyrdom of Livinus. He was buried in the oratory which he had erected; but, in consequence of its collegiate church having been transferred to Ruremond, a portion of the saint's remains was removed thither, while another was reverentially exhibited at Utrecht. See more of him in Miræus and in the Bollandists; while various old Irish documents and calendars contain further

notices as of "Bishop Wiro." See also Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, p. 542.

DISIBOD.

[Resign. 675.]

Disibod was born in Ireland of a noble family, and was remarkable for a great genius and a considerable share of learning. In the thirtieth year of his age he was ordained a priest, and some time afterwards elected bishop. When he had governed his see ten years he was driven from it by the insolence of the people, and at length compelled to resign it in 675, or 674 according to Marianus Scotus. He thereupon forsook Ireland, and, associating himself with three learned and religious men, viz. Gisualdus, Clement, and Salust, travelled into Germany, moving about from place to place, and preaching the Gospel for ten years. At last he arrived at a high woody mountain, which the owner of the country conferred upon him, and there he settled and lived an eremetic life. He drew to him many of the religious of the order of St. Benedict, and founded a monastery on this mountain, which, from his name, was called, as Arnold Wion says, Mount-Disibod, since changed into Dissenberg, in the lower Palatinate. He lived thirty years here in exercises of great severity, and died, worn out with extreme old age, on the 8th of July, but the precise year is not ascertained.

Hildigardis, a nun, who was educated at Dissenberg under the Abbess Jutta, wrote his life, which

Surius has published, and whence most of the particulars here related have been taken. John Wilson, in his *Martyrol. Anglic.*, at the 8th of July, speaks of him as Bishop of Dublin; but Harris, while he adopts the assertion on Wilson's credit, states it as unsupported by the authorities cited by that writer. Dempster affirms, that he saw a fragment of Disibod's composition, entitled, "De Monachorum profectû in solitudine agentium Liber 1."*

GUALAFER.

Gualafer is mentioned as Bishop of Dublin by Molanus, but no particulars are related of him, except that he baptized his successor St. Rumold.

ST. RUMOLD.

[Ob. 775.]

The life of St. Rumold, Bishop of Dublin, published by Surius, was written by Theodoric, Abbot of St. Trudo, and recited on his festival; whence, as well as from Molanus and several martyrologies and breviaries, Harris gives the following account of him:—"He was the son of David, a prince in Ireland, (which was then divided into many petty territories,) and was heir to his father. He was baptized by his predecessor Gualafer, then Bishop of Dublin, by whom, being well grounded in learning and virtue,

* Ware's Bishops, p. 304.

he forsook his pretensions to his inheritance for the sake of religion, and took a journey to Rome; but, before this, is said to have been consecrated Bishop of Dublin. He first passed into Britain, then into Gaul; and wherever he went preached Christ and his Gospel. He travelled over the Alps and arrived at Rome, where he received from the Pope an approbation of his labours. Having continued some time in Rome, he repassed into Gaul and came to Mechlin, where Odo, or Ado, a count of the place, together with his wife, received him with great humanity, and prevailed on him to settle there. He gave him a place called Ulmus, from the numerous elm trees growing there, where he founded a monastery; and Mechlin being erected into an episcopal see, he became its first bishop. At length two ruffians (the one thinking he had money, the other, out of a motive of revenge, because Rumold had reprimanded him for living in a scandalous state,) fell upon him, and cruelly murdered him on the 24th of June, 775; and, to conceal their villany, threw his body into a river. Count Ado had it removed thence, and gave it an honourable interment in St. Stephen's church. His remains were afterwards translated to a church in Mechlin, dedicated to his memory, which is now the metropolitan church of the Low Countries, and one of the largest Gothic structures in it; there they are conserved in a sumptuous silver shrine. Pope Alexander the Fourth transferred the day of the observation of St. Rumold's festival to the 3rd of July, because the 24th of June, on which he was murdered,

was pre-occupied as the festival of St. John the Baptist. The feast of St. Rumold is celebrated as a double festival, with an office of nine lessons, through all the province of Mechlin;"* and is also observed on that day in Ireland, although Pope Benedict the Fourteenth would have further altered the festival to the 1st of July.

Janning, the Bollandist, represents St. Rumold as an Anglo-Saxon, and gives a long history of the miracles which he effected. But the fullest particulars of this prelate are contained in his "Acts," &c. by Hugh Ward, who, however, styles him "Arch-Bishop" of Dublin, and affects to detail other circumstances equally erroneous and fanciful. There is likewise a very large and interesting folio work of his Acts, collected by John Baptist Soller, the Jesuit, published at Antwerp in 1718, and illustrated with some curious wood-cuts; amongst which is one of a silver shrine, overlaid with gold, which was constructed in 1369 for the bones of this revered patron of Mechlin, at an expense of 66,000 florins. This precious article was, in the wars of 1580, broken up and sold; but the bones were subsequently collected, and a new shrine framed in 1617 at about one-third of the cost of the former, and on a far more elegant design, as it is to this day exhibited in the cathedral. Of this also the book alluded to gives a drawing.

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* Ware's Bishops, (Harris's Edition,) pp. 304-5.

SEDULIUS.

[Ob. 785.]

Sedulius, in Irish Siedhiul, the son of Luaith, is called Bishop of Dublin in the martyrologies of Marian Gorman and those of Tallagh. In the Annals of the Four Masters he is styled Abbot of Dublin, bishop and abbot being often used as synonimous terms; and the offices of both, though in their nature perfectly distinct, having been often vested in the same person. Sedulius died on the 12th of February, in the year 785.

Burke, in his office of St. Rumoldus, states, that when that holy man resigned the see of Dublin, Pope Stephen the Third conferred it on Sedulius; and even Lanigan, who maintains that there were no Bishops of Dublin previous to Donatus, expresses much doubt as to excluding this individual from the honour.

CORMAC,

[Vivens, 890,]

of whom Harris says, he "could find no account but his bare name," flourished about the year 890. When Gregory, King of Scotland, besieged Dublin in that year, and reduced its inhabitants to the utmost straits for want of provisions, "in the end it was concluded amongst them, that sith there was no means for those noble men, which were enclosed within that city, to escape the enemy's hands, and that there were none other of any reputation abroad able to defend the

country from the Scotchman's puissance, they should fall to some treaty with the Scottish king for a peace, to be had with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained, for other remedy in that present mischief they might devise none; and therefore this was judged the best way of the whole number, namely Cormac, Bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular virtue and reputation, of upright life, of no small authority amongst them, took upon him to go unto Gregory to break the matter, and so coming afore his presence, besought him most humbly to have compassion upon the poor miserable city; and, if he had conceived any piece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet, upon their humble submission, to receive them unto his mercy, and further to accept into his protection his cousin, young Duncan, (Donough,) unto whom the kingdom of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well understood."*

Gregory refused, however, to extend any hope, until the city was absolutely surrendered to his discretion, which being done, "he commanded his battle to stay a little, and therewith himself advanced forth on foot, till he came to the bishop, and, falling down upon his knees, he reverently kissed the crucifix which the prelate bore, and fully ratified his wishes; whereupon, receiving humble thanks, with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemency, he entered the city, not staying till he came into the market-place, where, commanding one part of his army to keep their standing, he went with the residue into the

* Holinshed's Hist. of Scotland. See also Buchanan, Hector Boethius, Hanmer, &c.

church of our Lady, and after to that of St. Patrick, where, hearing the celebration of divine service, when the same was ended, he entered the castle, where his lodging was prepared."* He ultimately concluded peace with the Irish, and returned into Scotland.

DONAT.

[Sed. 1038. Ob. 1074.]

Donat, or Dunan, was the first among the Ostmen who was Bishop of Dublin, and, by the aid of Sitric, the king, built the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, afterwards called Christ Church, in the heart of that city, about the year 1038; to whose religious fraternity, according to the *Liber Niger*, said Sitric thereupon gave considerable landed possessions. Part of an epistolatory correspondence between this prelate and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, is yet extant; the former having transmitted to the latter some written inquiries relative to baptism and the holy communion, and received a reply in reference thereto —"That it was expedient that all people, living and dying, should be fortified with the body and blood of the Lord; but, if it should happen that a person baptized should die before he received the body and blood of Christ, God forbid that he should perish eternally;"† and he cites several passages of Scripture to prove this position; while, in reference to baptism, Lanfranc inculcates, "That, if an infant not baptized, (so he be

* Holinshed's Hist. of Scotland. See also Buchanan, Hector Boethius, Hanmer, &c.

† Wilkins' Conc. T. 1. p. 361. Ussher, in his Sylloge, erroneously refers this correspondence to 1081.

on the point of death,) should be baptized by a laic in defect of a priest, and die immediately after that, such infant should not be excluded from the body of the faithful..... It is necessary," he adds, "that the word of the Lord should be thus understood, as far as any one is capable of understanding a divine mystery, that he must not only eat of the flesh, and drink of the blood of Christ with the mouth of his body, but likewise with the love and affection of the heart, to wit, by loving, and with a pure conscience gratefully believing that Christ became man for our salvation, was crucified, rose again, ascended into heaven, and, by imitating his ways and entering into all he suffered, as far as his human nature suffered and divine grace deigned to endure, for this is to eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood, truly and to salvation."* Donatus, it is to be remarked, is in this letter expressly styled Bishop of Dublin. He soon afterwards (on the 6th of May, 1074) died at an advanced age, and was buried in his own cathedral, in the upper part of the chancel, on the right hand side.

PATRICK.

[Succ. 1074, ob. 1084.]

After the conquest of Dublin and the adjacent country, by Gotred, King of Man, as mentioned in the "History of the County of Dublin," Patrick,

* Usser. Sylloge, p. 73, &c.

styled in the Annals of the Four Masters, Gilla Patricianus, was, at the instance of Gotred, elected by the people of Dublin to succeed in this see, and was sent into England to receive consecration from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, bearing with him the following recommendatory epistle:—"To Lanfranc, the venerable metropolitan of the Holy Church of Canterbury, the clergy and people of Dublin tender their bounden obedience. It is known unto your fatherhood, that the church of Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, is bereft of her pastor and destitute of her ruler. Wherefore we have elected a priest called Patrick, a person whom we thoroughly know; one noble both by birth and morals, well imbued in apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, in the interpretation of the Scriptures wary, in the tenets of the church well versed, and whom we desire, without delay, to be ordained our bishop; that, under God, he may rule over us orderly, and profit us, and that we, under his government, may exercise a spiritual warfare, with security. Because the integrity of the ruler is the safety of the subject; and, where safety of obedience is, there is the sound form of doctrine." The copy of this epistle is preserved in an ancient book, in the Cotton Library, which formerly belonged to the church of Canterbury, whence Ussher has published it in his Sylloge,* together with the following form of Patrick's profession of obedience on being so conse-

* This letter is also the thirty-sixth among Lanfranc's letters, in D'Achery's edition of his works.

crated in St. Paul's church :—" Whoever is appointed to rule over others, ought not to think it unworthy if he also be placed in subjection to others; but ought rather to study, in all humility, to pay that obedience to his superiors which he expects, for God's sake, to receive from those that are subject to him. Wherefore, I, Patrick, having been elected bishop, to preside over Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do tender this instrument of my profession to you, most venerable father, Lanfranc, primate of the Britains, (Britanniarum, i. e. England and Scotland,) and Archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and do promise that I will obey you and your successors, in all things which appertain to the Christian religion."

The copies of the letters which Lanfranc sent by this bishop, to be delivered to the said Gotred, and to Turlough O'Brien, King of Ireland, are likewise preserved in Cardinal Baronius's Annals; while it is to be observed, that Lanfranc, not having sufficient experience in Irish affairs, styles not only Turlough, King of Ireland, as he really was, but also gives Gotred the same designation, who was only a ruler over Dublin and a small part of Leinster. The letters are as follow :—" Lanfranc, by the grace of God and not in respect to his own merits Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gotred, the renowned King of Ireland, greeting, with his benediction. We have honourably and with due respects received our venerable brother and fellow bishop, Patrick, (whom, most reverend son, your Excellency sent unto us for consecration,) and have invested him in the sacred function with all

due ceremonies, and the co-operating grace of the Holy Ghost, according to canonical institution, and have remitted him to his proper see, with our letters testimonial, pursuant to the practice of our predecessors. And, although he has related to us many good and commendable things concerning your glory, yet we think it not amiss to enforce your noble designs by our exhortations; for, as the fire is increased by the blowing of the wind, and shines more bright, so true virtue is improved and increased by well-merited praises. We therefore entreat you, in such manner as becomes a precious son of the Church to be intreated, that you will, with all sincerity of mind, preserve undefiled the true faith delivered by God and his holy apostles and the orthodox fathers; that you will exhibit to the world such good works as are agreeable to the faith, according to the extent of your abilities, and shew your greatness severe to the proud but affable to the humble. It is reported, that within your dominions there are men, who take to themselves wives too near a-kin by consanguinity or affinity; others, who forsake at pleasure such as are lawfully joined to them in holy matrimony; and some, who give their wives to others, and receive the wives of others in return by an abominable intercourse. These and other, if there are any other, enormities, you should order to be corrected, for God's sake and the good of your own soul, in the country of your dominion. You are to carry yourself, by the assistance of God, towards your subjects in such manner, that they, who are affected by virtue, may love virtue the

more, and such, as are wickedly disposed, may be restrained in the exercise of their vicious courses. For doing this you shall reign the longer on earth, in the enjoyment of temporal felicity, and, after this life, shall pass to a celestial kingdom, there to reign without end. I should have written to you more at large, but that you have with you the aforesaid prelate, educated from his boyhood in monastic institutions, eminently instructed in the knowledge of divine learning, and (as far as it has come to our knowledge) well graced with the ornaments of good works; if you will attentively hearken unto him, (as he shall frequently speak to you concerning your soul,) hearing him to obey him as a spiritual father, in such things as appertain to God, doing as he declares to you, and treasuring his words in your breast; we then hope that by the mercy of God, neither yourself will perniciously go astray, nor permit your subjects to abide long in the obstinacy of wicked actions. The omnipotent Lord fortify you with the arm of virtue against the enemies of your soul and body, and, after a long life in this world, happily bring you to that which hath no end."

The archbishop's letter to King Turlough, runs thus:—"Lanfranc, a sinner, and unworthy archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, to Turlough, the mighty king of Ireland, a blessing with our greeting and prayers. God bestoweth no greater mercies on earth, than when he promoteth to the government of souls or bodies, such as affect peace and work justice; and especially when he committeth

the kingdoms of the world to good kings. For hence peace arises, discord is extinguished, and, that I may sum up all in a word, the observance of Christian religion is established; which blessing every prudent observer perceives to have been divinely conferred on the people of Ireland, when the omnipotent Lord granted unto your superiority the right of kingly power over that land. For our brother and fellow bishop, Patrick, hath declared so many, and such good and great things of your humility towards good men, of your rigorous severity against the wicked, and of your well disposed justice and equity towards all mankind, that, although we never saw you, yet we love you as if we had seen you; and we desire to give you wholesome council, and to serve you as sincerely, as if you were seen by and well known unto us. But, amongst many things which please us, some things have been related unto us wherewith we are displeased, (viz.) that in your kingdom any one at pleasure relinquishes his lawful wife, without any canonical cause intervening, and rashly joins himself by a marital, or rather an adulterous law, with one nearly a-kin to himself, or to his deserted wife, or with another by similar depravity deserted by her husband; that bishops are consecrated by one bishop only; that infants are baptized without consecrated oil; and that holy orders are conferred by bishops for money. There is no man so meanly versed in holy writ, but knows that all these things, and other the like, if any, are done contrary to evangelical and apostolical authority, against the prohibition of the

holy canons, and against the institutions of all the orthodox fathers who have gone before us. Which things, by as much as they are abhorred in the sight of God and his saints, so much the more severely are they to be prohibited by your command without delay, and being prohibited, if they be not corrected, you are to punish them with the strictest severity of your terror. For you cannot offer to God a greater or more acceptable present, than to study to govern divine and human things by proper laws. Wherefore, as always mindful of the divine judgment, wherein you are to render an account to God of the kingdom committed to you, command all bishops and religious men to convene together, and in their holy conference be you present with your nobles, to exterminate from your kingdom these wicked customs, and all others which are condemned by the laws of religion: so that, when the King of kings and Lord of lords shall see your royal majesty subject in all things to his precepts, and favourable to his faithful people out of fear and love for him, and possessed with zeal against the enemies of the true religion, he may propitiously hear your faithful subjects crying unto him, astound your enemies, and grant to you in this world a firm peace, and in the world to come eternal life."

Although it may be observed that Lanfranc, when deprecating the abuses alleged in the latter letter, does not speak in any tone of authority, nor issue any orders, as a metropolitan, to the Irish bishops and clergy, but only recommends their prince to convene them, and facilitate the exercise of their power of

correction for the good of his own soul, and although the letter to Gotred is also but a pious exhortation, yet the fact of this and subsequent instances of the interference of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the consecration of Irish bishops, requires here, as on its earliest undoubted occurrence, some especial explanation, reminding the ordinary reader, as it may be scarcely necessary to do, that Lanfranc himself derived his pall from Rome. During the long period of Danish tyranny in Ireland, and while frequent intercourse with the Pontiff was impracticable, the metropolitan of Armagh seems to have been more particularly respected as his vicar, and a paramount ecclesiastical power was acknowledged as consequential by all the Christians of Ireland. The Danes, however, of the sea-ports did not deem it politic, nor would they submit to have their bishops derived from such a sanction, and, as they always disdained to attribute their conversion to the Irish, but rather to the Anglo-Saxons, and further considered William the Conqueror and his Normans, who were then masters of England, their countrymen, they naturally looked in such a state of things to the English primate for the consecration of their bishops, and, accordingly, the practice commenced with this prelate's consecration. His successor, Donatus O'Hanly, succeeded by similar authority in 1085, as did Samuel, the nephew of Donatus, on his decease. Eadmer, the friend and historian of Archbishop Anselm, with more policy than veracity, records the latter appointment as having been "juxta morem antiquum," as indeed Lanfranc

would assume at the higher period of his prelacy, in his aforesaid letter to Gotred. In 1097, the same feeling threw the nomination of a Bishop of Waterford, Malchus, into Anselm's jurisdiction ; and, in letters from Anselm as well to the before-mentioned Samuel as to this Malchus, further claims to metropolitan jurisdiction are insinuated and acted upon. Indeed, the whole spirit, that induced these nominations, is clearly evinced by a letter hereafter more particularly alluded to, from the people of Dublin to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1121, wherein they avow the jealousy they had incurred from the Irish bishops, and particularly from the "bishop who dwells at Armagh," by reason of not submitting to their ordination.

Patrick, having been in this spirit and under these auspices elected and consecrated, governed the see about ten years, when, in a voyage to England, whither he was sent by King Turlough on business to Lanfranc, he perished by shipwreck, on the 10th of October, 1084.

DONAT O'HANLY.

[Succ. 1085, Ob. 1095.]

Donat O'Haingly or O'Hanly, having spent some time in the study of useful learning in Ireland, passed into England and became a Benedictine monk at Canterbury. Returning to the former country, he was elected by King Turlough and the clergy and people of Dublin, with the approbation of some Irish

bishops to the see of Dublin, and, on their representation, was consecrated in 1085 by Archbishop Lanfranc, to whom he made the following profession of obedience :—"I Donat, bishop of the church of Dublin in Ireland, do promise canonical obedience to you, Lanfranc, Archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and to your successors." The epistle, which King Turlough sent to Lanfranc in his favour, is stated by Ware in the following words :—"Turlough, King of Ireland, to the Most Rev. Father in God, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting,—We, Turlough and the clergy of Dublin, being bereaved of our good and pious pastor, Patrick, are grieved in a double sense, first, for his sad misfortune, being swallowed up in the deep; secondly, for the loss of his wholesome doctrine, with which he was wont to feed our souls. Had he safely arrived, you would have had an account how I have followed your fatherly instructions, which you recommended to me by our late deceased father. But this Donat, who we desire may be consecrated by your fatherhood and the rest of the holy prelates belonging to your holy see, will inform you further. Grace, peace, and happiness attend on you and your followers, Amen."

This bishop, it appears, was a particular favourite with Lanfranc, who frequently entertained him in his palace, and gave him sundry presents, in particular some books and church ornaments for his cathedral of the Holy Trinity. He died on the 23rd of November, in the year 1095, of a plague, the prevalence of which in that year is recorded in the Annals of In-

nisfallen, and left behind him among his countrymen a high reputation for industry, learning, and sagacity.*

SAMUEL O'HANLY.

[Succ. 1095, Ob. 1121.]

Samuel O'Hanly, nephew to the deceased Donat, and a Benedictine monk as his uncle had been, succeeded to the see. Eadmer† thus alludes to his consecration :—"In the year 1095 one Samuel, a native of Ireland, and a monk of the abbey of St. Alban's,‡ came to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. He, upon the death of Donat, late bishop of the city of Dublin, of blessed memory, was, by Murtough O'Brien, King of Ireland, and the clergy and people, elected bishop of that city, and, according to ancient custom, was by common suffrage recommended to Anselm for consecration; Anselm approved the election and granted their petition. He honourably entertained the man in his house for a time, and diligently instructed him how to behave himself in the house of God; then taking from him a profession of his canonical obedience, he consecrated him bishop in the octave of Easter following, and four of his suffragan bishops ministered to him during the ceremony. This new prelate, strengthened by the benediction of so great a prince, and with letters testimonial

* Ware's Bishops, (Harris's Ed.) p. 309.

† Hist. Nov. L. 2. ad ann.

‡ It is remarkable that there are to this day numerous monuments in the monastery of St. Alban's, commemorating members of the "Handley" family.

written by the said Anselm to the king, people, and clergy of Ireland, as vouchers of his consecration, returned to his own country with joy, and was honourably received into his see according to the usage of the land." The narrative is evidently the production of one, anxious to promote the interest and power of Anselm, and, while it seeks to suggest an "ancient custom" for such consecrations, it is possibly equally sycophantic in the assertion of King Murtough's recommendation of Samuel, which might, however, be given, like that of his royal predecessor Turlough, in deference to the Ostmen citizens of Dublin.

Samuel's profession, as preserved in Ussher's *Sylloge*, was in these terms, "I Samuel, chosen for the government of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, and to be consecrated bishop by the reverend father Anselm, Archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and primate of all Britain, do promise that I will observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and all thy successors." It may be interesting to remark, that the consecration of this bishop took place in the cathedral of Winchester, when it was in all the freshness of its beauty, being then but two years completed, and within five years of the period when it was to receive the corse of the royal Rufus.

Samuel, soon after his return to Ireland, expelled some monks from the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, stripped that church of the books and ornaments which Lanfranc had bestowed on it, as before observed, and commanded the cross to be carried before himself; in

consequence of which, Anselm wrote a letter to him, also preserved in Ussher's *Sylloge*, and of which the following is a translation: "Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to his venerable brother Samuel, Bishop of Dublin, greeting,—Complaint hath been made unto us, that you dispose of and alienate to strangers those books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church, which Archbishop Lanfranc bestowed on your uncle, Bishop Donat, to the use of the church over which you preside. If this be true, I much wonder at it, for these ornaments were not given to your uncle but to the church, as the brothers and sons of the church of Canterbury do attest. Therefore, I admonish and command you, that, if any of the aforesaid things be disposed of out of the church, you immediately cause them to be restored to it. I have, likewise, heard that you have expelled and dispersed several of the monks appointed to serve in the said church, and that, though they are willing to return, you will not receive them back. If this be so, it is very unbecoming in you, whose duty it is rather to collect the scattered, than to scatter those who are collected. Wherefore, I command you, if any have been expelled and are willing to return and continue in the service of God, under obedience, that you receive them, and studiously employ your paternal affection for their preservation, unless, which God forbid, they give cause to obstruct their own restoration. I have, also, heard that you cause your cross to be carried

erect before you, in the way; if this be true, I forbid it for the future, because it belongs to none but an archbishop, confirmed by the grant of the pall from the Roman Pontiff. Neither does it become you to shew yourself reprehensible to men, by presuming on such an unusual thing: farewell."* Anselm also wrote to Malchus Bishop of Waterford a letter, preserved in the *Sylloge*, in which he repeats the above causes of complaint, adds, that he ordered the people of Dublin to prevent the removal of the articles belonging to the church, and desires him to expostulate *vivâ voce* with Samuel, and advise him to obey the monitory letter, which he enclosed to Malchus with the object of a personal delivery. It does not appear how far these charges of avarice and sacrilegious peculation were justified, or what effect the remonstrance accomplished, and it is only known that, according to the best authorities, Bishop Samuel died on the 4th of July, in the year 1121, although the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, and some ancient rolls in Lambeth, postpone this event to the following year, and those of Multifernan to 1123.†

Immediately on his decease, there is some evidence that Celsus, Bishop of Armagh, was entreated to preside over this see, and Doctor Lanigan, with an acuteness that makes his lightest conjectures well deserving of notice, in any theological question connected with the period of which he wrote, considers it probable, that, without intending to be a pluralist,

* Usser. Syll. p. 99. † Harris's Ware's Bishops, p. 310.

he wished to draw away this see from the jurisdiction of the prelate of Canterbury, and that his views of administering the affairs of the diocese, until a better arrangement could be effected, were favoured by a great part of its clergy and people. The Irish bishops, and particularly Celsus, must have considered it anomalous, that the diocese of Dublin should be separated from the Irish hierarchy, after Waterford and Limerick, the only other sees which had for similar reasons sought consecration of their prelates in England, had been, by a decree of the synod of Rathbreasil, placed under the Archbishop of Cashel. The opinion is considerably strengthened by the terms of the recommendation which the Danish party forwarded with Gregory to Canterbury, as stated in the ensuing paragraph. No evidence, however, has been discovered of Celsus having actually exercised any of the functions of Bishop of Dublin.

GREGORY.

[Succ. 1121. Ob. 1161.]

This prelate, having been elected Bishop of Dublin, repaired to England to receive a similar consecration with that of his immediate predecessors from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, besides letters from the king in his favour, he carried also with him other recommendations from the clergy and people of Dublin, in which they emphatically urged, that they had incurred much jealousy from the bishops of Ireland, and especially from the prelate who lived at Armagh,

because they would not obey the order of the said bishops, but testified their wish to live under the jurisdiction of Canterbury.* In pursuance of these testimonials Gregory received his first orders from Roger Bishop of Salisbury, on the 24th of September, 1121; and on the 2nd of October following, having made the customary profession of obedience, was consecrated Bishop of Dublin, at Lambeth, by Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the prelates Richard of London, the said Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, Everard of Norwich, and David of Bangor. The form of his profession is published by Archbishop Ussher, and is in similar terms with that of his predecessors. On the 24th of the said month of October he assisted, together with Theulph Bishop of Worcester, Richard Bishop of Hereford, and Urban Bishop of Glamorgan, in consecrating the great church of Tewkesbury, then recently raised to the dignity of an abbey.

After he had presided thirty-one years over his see, the archiepiscopal dignity was conferred upon him at the Council of Kells,† the causes and acts of which assembly require here more especial notice.

It is scarcely necessary perhaps to suggest, that, from the period of the Danish invasion, the march of religion and morality was cruelly checked in Ireland. Christianity, up to that era, which may be defined as the commencement of the ninth century, had, as Cambrensis admits, remained there untainted and un-

* Vide Ussher's Sylloge, p. 101.

† Harris's Ware's Bishops, p. 311.

shaken, ("illibata et inconcussa;") but thenceforward the Christian resident priesthood could only preserve their lives in the intricacy of woods, and bogs, and caverns; and, while the expatriated portion of the clergy were leading the most successful and glorious missions in foreign countries, there is much reason to believe that deviations, both in discipline and morality, were the result of this breaking up of the ecclesiastical communities in Ireland. In vain, at the moment of deepest moral degradation, did Brian Boroimhe apply his utmost exertions to recal his erring subjects, and efface from their manners and habits those taints with which they had been imbued; not even the partial subsequent conversion of the Danes could effectuate these objects. If the picture drawn by the pen of St. Bernard were deemed accurate to the whole extent, the degeneracy in his day, or rather in those days of St. Malachy of which he wrote, was indeed deplorable;* and Adrian's Bull to Henry the Second intimates as much, at a later period, where he incites the royal missionary to subdue the Irish to the laws, and to extirpate from amongst them the nurseries of vice. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, during nearly a century, as has been shewn, assumed to exercise a metropolitan jurisdiction in appointing and ordaining bishops for the Danish settlements, comprehending the chief cities of Ireland, while the prelates of those parts of the country, which were possessed by the natives, appear, in the difficulty of intercourse

* Vita Malach. c. 6.

thence with Rome, and the decided laxity of discipline, to have assumed to consecrate each other. This usage, however it might have been tolerated for a time from necessity, was not calculated to uphold the desired unity of Roman Catholic doctrine and discipline, and, in point of fact, mainly led to some of the aberrations alluded to. It was now, therefore, deemed advisable at the Court of Rome, that Ireland should be divided into ecclesiastical provinces, and archbishops assigned over them, by whom the suffragans might be thenceforth appointed. Accordingly it was proposed, in 1151, that Cardinal Paparo should visit Ireland for the attainment of this object; and a license of safe conduct was applied for from the King of England, but refused by him, unless the ecclesiastic would pledge his faith, that the expedition should operate no prejudice to the English nation. In 1152, however, the same missionary, having first debarked at Tinmouth, in Northumberland, and been well received by the Bishop of Durham, proceeded thence to Ireland, under conduct from the King of Scotland.

Immediately on his arrival at the place of his destination he convened a synod, at which he and Christian O'Conor, Bishop of Lismore, presided as the Pope's legates. It was held in March at the ancient town of Kells, according to the most approved authorities, though others state Drogheda, and some Mellefont, to have been the place of meeting. The assemblage on the occasion comprised the chief personages of Ireland—bishops, abbots, princes, and chiefs. Of

the first order there were no less than twenty-three present, viz., Christian O'Conor, of Lismore ; Gelasius Mac Leig, of Armagh ; Donatus O'Lonergan, of Cashel ; Hugh O'Heyne, of Tuam ; Gregory, of Dublin ; Gilda na Naomh, of Glendalough ; Dungan O'Cellaic, of Leighlin ; Tostius, (an Ostman,) of Waterford ; Daniel O'Fogarty, of Ossory ; Fion Mac Tiernan, of Kildare ; Gillah an Comdeh O'Hardmoill, of Emly ; Gilla Hugh O'Heyne, of Cork ; Maolbrenan O'Ronan, of Kerry, (i. e. Ardfert ;) Turgesius, (also an Ostman,) of Limerick ; Murtough O'Maolidher, of Clonmacnois ; Maolissa O'Connaghten, of East Connaught ; Maolruan O'Ruadan, of Luigne, (i. e. Achonry ;) Magrath O'Moran, of Conmacne, (Ardagh ;) Ethrie O'Meadachain, of Clonard ; Toole O'Connaghten, of Jobh Bruin, (Enachdune ;) Murdoch O'Coffy, of Kinel-Eogan, (Derry ;) Maolpatrick O'Banon, of Dailnarugh, (Connor ;) and Malachy ara Cleririchuir, of Ullagh, (Down.) There were present, besides these prelates, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, three thousand other ecclesiastics. By the decision of this council the Irish bishopries were reduced to a fewer number, and four archbishops were established, to whom the sacred palls were given. Gelasius was appointed to preside over the province of Armagh, Donatus assigned to that of Cashel, Edanus to Tuam, and Gregory was elevated from bishop of the see to be Archbishop of the province of Dublin ; while to each a certain number of suffragan bishops was subjected. Those, placed under the government of Gregory and his successors, were

Glendalough, Ferns, Leighlin, Ossory, and Kildare. Besides the delivery of the palls, other matters of high ecclesiastical importance were transacted on this occasion. A decree was passed against simony, a crime which was in those times but too prevalent throughout the Christian world; usury also was condemned; marriages within the canonical degrees, which had become too prevalent in this country, were expressly prohibited;* and the cardinal, in virtue of his apostolical authority, directed that tithes should be paid. On this point, however, he was very badly obeyed, and tithes were, if at all, very little exacted in Ireland, until after the establishment of English power. On the breaking up of the synod Paparo immediately returned to Rome.

Although no decrees were deemed necessary to

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* *Ceillier*, v. xxi. p. 691. *Simon Dunelm. Hist. ad. ann.* Mr. Moore has perhaps somewhat hastily in his *History of Ireland*, v. ii. p. 191, stated this canon as prohibitory of the marriages of the clergy, and has been very severe upon Doctor Lanigan, for what he terms an unworthy suppression of the enactment; but the truth is, that there is no authority whatsoever to support the statement; the only passages in Irish ecclesiastical history that can be cited, as giving colour to such marriages at the time, refer to the diocese of Armagh alone, and these apply more to the laymen who usurped that see as their inheritance for five or six generations, and whom Mr. Moore recognises as such in the same volume, pp. 65, 171, 304, and 341. See also *St. Bernard's Life of Malachy*, c. 7. The Irish Annals, and particularly those of the Four Masters, repudiate any such general imputation: while the reluctant testimony of Cambrensis to the purity of the native priesthood, and yet more the remarkable avowal in the thirteenth canon of Archbishop Comyn's council of 1186, that the *clergy of Ireland* were *always* remarkable for their *chastity*, are completely subversive of the probability of such a canon.

be passed on this occasion, in reference to the doctrines or the morality of the people much less of the clergy, King Henry the Second was, on his accession to the throne in two years afterwards, too deeply interested in reiterating and magnifying at Rome such calumnious accounts of Ireland, as would impress the pontiff with the importance and utility of his meditated invasion of that country. Fortunately for his wishes an Englishman, Adrian the Fourth, had been advanced to that high office, about the very same time that he had himself attained his kingdom. To him, therefore, did Henry make his earliest application on the subject of Ireland, communicating the necessity and motives of his design through the medium of John of Salisbury, then chaplain to Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. The wily negotiator was well selected for the office: he besought the Pope's permission for his master to take possession of Ireland, purely for the extension of morality and religion. He made his suit with the earnestness of a Christian minister;* he implored it, as if only actuated by a tender commiseration for the souls of the poor deluded Irish; he persevered—he succeeded—and the English prince was, like another Joshua, commissioned "to possess the land" for the glory of God and salvation of its people.

It is by many considered incredible that the Pope could have listened to, much less have so thoroughly adopted these suggestions, as to recite them to a cer-

* John Sarisb. Metalog. L. 4. c. 42.

tain extent in the commencement of his Bull; more especially when he knew, that but three years before the palls had been sent to Ireland, and conferred upon natives of the highest sanctity and respect, and in a synod crowded with Irish bishops and ecclesiastics of the most unblemished character. Adrian might have been, however, the more disposed to credit these interested representations, as it appears that in his youth he had made a painful pilgrimage into Norway, where, in the progress of conversion, he possibly heard equally interested misrepresentations of the Irish, from a people who had for ages been their tyrants and oppressors. The love of England, his native country, was likely also to have deeply biased his inclinations, and such a motive was consequently assigned by Matthew of Westminster, strongly asserted by Donald O'Neill and the Irish chieftains in their letters to Pope John the Twenty-second, and subsequently suggested and accredited in a speech of Cardinal Pole in A. D. 1554.* But more than all, it is most reasonable to infer that Adrian consented to the appointment, politically concluding that Henry was the best qualified to establish the desired conformity with Roman discipline. He knew that Ireland, by being subjected in a temporal sense to England, would be more spiritually reduced to the authority of the Church, while Henry on his part covenanted to be a collector of its rents and dues for the apostolic see.

With such impressions and motives, Pope Adrian

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* See Usser. Syll. n. to Adrian's Bull.

transmitted, through the aforesaid John of Salisbury, as an investiture of dominion over Ireland, a ring, which John himself states was preserved in the state muniments in his day, and with it an official Bull, of whose existence also, as of record in Winchester, Giraldus is equally certain. In this Bull, after duly commending Henry's motives as originating in the zeal of faith and love of Christianity, and directed for the extension of the supremacy of Rome, the jurisdiction of its Church over an unlearned and barbarous people, and the extirpation of the weeds of vice from the field of the Lord; and, after auguring the success of their execution from the purity of their conception, and especially from the submission made to and sanction sought from Rome, the Pontiff proceeds to recite his own title to Ireland, as founded on a vaunted grant of all the islands of the Christian world from the Emperor Constantine to the successors of St. Peter, and again reverts to Henry's motives as having been signified to him to be for subjecting the Irish to laws, extirpating vice, collecting Peter's pence, and preserving the Church rights in the island; he, therefore, gives his assent to the pious and praiseworthy desire of the English king, and agrees that for such purposes he should enter the island, and do whatever might best tend to the honour of God and safety of that land; expressing at the same time a hope, that the people of the country would receive him with honour, and respect him as their lord; and he concludes with a still more impressive, and an unquestionably meritorious line of instruction, which

had Henry adopted, had his soldiery "sowed righteousness and reaped in mercy," the land might rejoice in the invasion that extinguished her disastrous constitution. "If then," he adds, "you are minded to effectuate your purpose, make it your study to inform that nation with good precepts, and do this as well by your own exertions, as by those of whomsoever you may depute as fitted for such a design by their doctrine, conversation, and life; so that the Church may be glorified thereby, and the religion of Christ planted and increased, and whatever pertains to the honour of God and safety of souls may be so perfected, as that you will deserve to obtain from that God an accumulation of eternal rewards, and must succeed in acquiring on earth a glorious fame for ages."

Thus it was that Adrian countenanced the transfer of a kingdom, which in no manner belonged to him, to a prince who had no manner of right to it; an exercise of authority so unwarranted in the abstract, that a host of historians have ventured at once to impugn the authenticity of the instrument altogether, and such a conclusion has been too hastily considered as necessary for the honour of the country and of the Pope. The leading objections urged against the document, are embodied in Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, c. 22, but their enumeration, or that of the evidences which establish the authenticity of the Bull, appears irrelevant in the present work.

The instrument was not fated to be acted upon during the life of Archbishop Gregory, who died on

the 8th of October, in the year 1161, having filled the see for forty years. The Chronicle of All Saints characterizes him as "a wise man, and one well skilled in languages," but erroneously assigns his death to the year 1162.

LAURENCE O'TOOLE.

[Succ. 1162, Ob. 1180.]

Laurence O'Toole, the truly illustrious individual who succeeded to this high preferment, was the youngest son of the hereditary lord or petty prince of the territory of Imaile, the head of one of the septs eligible to the kingdom of Leinster, and which maintained the privilege of electing the bishops and abbots of Glendalough, even for centuries after that see was *de jure* united to that of Dublin. His father's principality was situated in the district of Wicklow, to which he was also attached in the maternal line, his mother having been of the O'Byrnes, a family equally revered in the memory of their countrymen. In the depth of the romantic "valley of the two lakes," which gave name to the see of Glendalough, and where the ruins of its little city and cathedral are still traceable, there was, at this period, one of those schools, for which Ireland was justly celebrated, and within its walls the pious Laurence imbibed the rudiments of his education, and the principles of his religion. At the early age of ten, his acquirements elevated him considerably above the ordinary class of his contemporaries, and the infant ardour of his

patriotism so manifested itself, that when at that period his father participated in the oppressive hostilities, with which Dermot Mac Murrough visited the most worthy of the chieftains of Leinster, the heartless tyrant could only be induced to avert the worst inflictions of his cruel power, on receiving as a hostage from the father's hands the son of his heart and hopes.

No sooner had Dermot possessed himself of this already celebrated boy, than he subjected him to the first lessons of the persecution he was fated to endure, and with a fiendish cruelty, in thorough consistence with the character which even his Welch allies afterwards attributed to him, he is said to have confined his victim in a barren, unsheltered spot, and only allowed him such a quality and quantity of food as might preserve an existence for tyranny to excruciate. The distracted parent, when he heard of his son's sufferings, knowing that entreaty would be responded with mockery and increased barbarity, by some successful sally from his mountain holds, captured twelve of Mac Murrough's soldiers, whom he threatened instantly to immolate, unless his son was restored to his home. The threat was effective, and in the valley of Glendalough Laurence was once more received in a father's embrace. The secluded and melancholy appearance of this scene, surrounded as it is by almost perpendicular mountains on all sides but the east, where alone it opens like a vast temple of nature to the rising day, early marked it as the more peculiar retreat of holiness, and must have

greatly influenced the determination of the redeemed boy, who, thereupon, again applied himself to his studies, in the place where his rudiments were imbibed, and, ultimately resigning the prospects of his birth and inheritance, devoted his great talents to the service of religion, and exhibited such eminent proofs of his knowledge, devotion, purity, and high morality, that, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, at the importunity of the clergy and people of the district, he was advanced to preside over that abbey, whose ruins still affect the observer with inexpressible reverence, and, if not forming the most imposing feature at Glendalough, at least powerfully deepen its interest. His charity to the poor at this time is much commemorated, especially during a period of remarkable scarcity, which miserably afflicted that part of the country during four successive years; nor is it to be overlooked, that by the rectitude of his conduct throughout this interval of his life, he confounded the efforts of calumny, and, by the firm but merciful superintendance of the district under his charge, converted it from a wicked waste to moral cultivation. The result was to himself as might be expected; and when the bishop of the see, Gilda na Naomh, died, Laurence was at once selected by a grateful people to fill the vacant dignity. He, however, utterly declined this honour, wisely and prudently excusing himself by reason of the fewness of his years. Providence reserved him for a more exalted and useful sphere of action; and, on the death of Gregory, Archbishop of Dublin, which soon afterwards occurred, he was

elected the successor; a promotion which he would also have declined, but was ultimately induced to accept, by earnest representations of the good he might thus effectuate. He was, accordingly, consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, in the year 1162, by Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, assisted by many bishops, the people offering up the thanksgivings of their hearts; and, from that period the custom of sending the bishops of the Irish cities which the Danes had occupied, to Canterbury for consecration, was utterly discontinued.

In the following year, Archbishop O'Toole engaged the secular clergy of his cathedral of the Holy Trinity, to receive the rule of the regular canons of Aroasia, an abbey, which was founded in the diocese of Arras, about eighty years previously, and had acquired such a reputation for sanctity and exemplary discipline, that it became the head, or mother church of a numerous congregation. The better to recommend this change, the archbishop himself assumed the habit of that order, which he thenceforth always wore under his pontifical attire, and equally submitted himself to their mortifications and rules of living. Although he studiously avoided all popular applause, yet his continued charity to the poor could not be concealed. He caused every day, sometimes sixty, sometimes forty paupers to be fed in his presence, besides many whom he otherwise relieved; he entertained the rich with suitable splendour, yet, never himself tasted the luxuries of the table, and, as frequently as his duties would permit,

retreated to the scene of his early sanctity, where in the cave, still shewn as the labour of St. Kevin's self-inflictions, removed from human intercourse, he indulged himself in holy thinkings.

In 1167 he assisted at the council which King Roderic convened at Athboy, and which, in the mixed grades of those who attended it, greatly resembled a Saxon Wittenagemote. "Thither," according to the Annals of the Four Masters, "came the comorb of Patrick; Catholicus O'Duffy, Archbishop of Connaught; Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Leinster; Tiernan O'Rourke, Lord of Brefny; Donough O'Carrol, Lord of Uriel, the son of the King of Ulad; Dermod O'Melaghlin, King of Tara; Raynal Mac Raynal, Lord of the Danes; Donough O'Faolan, Chief of the Desies; &c. The complement of the whole so collected was, 6000 of Connaught, 4000 with O'Rourke, 2000 with O'Melaghlin 4000 with O'Carrol and the son of the King of Ulad, 2000 with Donough O'Faolan, and 1000 with the Danes of Dublin." The political object of this assembly was, to obtain more indisputable acknowledgments of the sovereignty of Roderic, and to calculate what aid and support he might expect, in case of the then expected invasion of Dermot Mac Murrough's auxiliaries. The council did not, however, separate without passing many good ordinances, touching the privileges of churches and clergy, and the regulation of public morality, and religious discipline. Archbishop Laurence also pre-

sided as legate at a clerical convocation, held at Clonfert in 1170, by commission from the Pope.

Upon the first invasion of the Welch adventurers, he adhered firmly to the independence of his country, and encouraged the inhabitants of Dublin to a vigorous defence against the invaders; they, however, daunted by the martial appearance, and disciplined array of Strongbow's forces before their walls, entreated the prelate, rather to become the mediator of a peace; to effectuate which, he passed out into the lines of the besiegers, but, while the terms of surrender were yet under discussion, Raymond le Gros, and Milo de Cogan, with a party of young and fiery spirits, scaled the walls, and at once possessed themselves of the city, with frightful carnage. The charity of Archbishop O'Toole was eminently exercised on this occasion. At the hazard of his life, he traversed the streets of the metropolis, protesting against the ruin he could not control; snatching the panting bodies from the grasp of the invader, he administered to the dying the last consolations of religion, to the dead, the hasty service of a grave, and to the wants and wounds of the wretched survivors, all that their necessities could require, or his means afford.

In 1171 Hasculph, the Danish Governor of Dublin, whom the English had expelled from the city, arrived in its harbour to re-assert his rights, with thirty ships in his train, and a numerous force commanded by John Wood, from the Isle of Man and the islands of

the North, and described in the Irish Annals as "well appointed, after the Danish manner, with brigandines, jacks and coats of mail, their shields, bucklers, and targets round and coloured red, and bound about with iron." Archbishop Laurence on this occasion, considering that much national good might result, from opposing the power of the new invaders by that of the old, became most zealous in his appeals to the native princes to promote Hasculph's project, and his devoted patriotism and the sanctity of his character gave great weight to his exhortations. The people rose in arms to his call, collected all their strength, surrounded Dublin by land while the Dane occupied the harbour, and threatened the hitherto victorious Strongbow with total annihilation. From the height of the citadel he beheld with alarm the allied natives, at last united in the defence of their country, and extending their lines from sea to sea around him. Roderic was encamped at Castleknock, whence his army extended to the ancient town of Finglas; O'Rourke and the petty prince of Ulster mingled their forces along the strand of Clontarf; the Lord of Hy Kinselagh occupied the opposite shores of Dalkey; while the Chief of Thomond advanced so near as Kilmainham, to the walls of the metropolis; and even Archbishop Laurence communicated the inspiration of his character to this cause, and gliding amidst the ranks of war, animated the several septs of his countrymen to the assertion of their common liber-

ties.* Within the city were, Earl Strongbow, Maurice Fitzgerald, Raymond le Gros, the Achilles of the invasion, Milo de Cogan, Richard de Cogan, and some other chosen chieftains; but their scanty soldiery bore a fearful comparison in numbers with the host that were to oppose them; and Strongbow, in the prudence of necessity, withheld them from any encounter that might but reveal their weakness. It was the crisis of Ireland's destinies, but her monarch was not equal to the emergency.

During two months, these warriors patiently endured the closest blockade, but after that interval, a privation of food, so grievous, that according to Regan, a measure of wheat was sold for a mark, and one of barley for half a mark, threatened the garrison with the most terrific species of death. In this emergency, rather than pine under the lingering infliction of famine, they loudly implored their commanders to lead them against the enemy, and afford them at least the glorious consolation of dying on the field of battle. In aggravation of their despair, and the imminence of their fate, came fearful accounts of the state of Fitz Stephen and his followers in Wexford. A council was thereupon held, and an ineffectual effort having been made, under its direction, to obtain favourable terms by negotiation, it was resolved, without further delay, to sally on the besiegers. The garrison was accordingly divided into three companies; Raymond le Gros,

* Cambr. Evers. p. 165.

with 200 knights, took the vanguard, Milo de Cogan, with as many more, kept the centre, and Strongbow, with Maurice Fitz Gerald, and 200 knights and soldiers, composed the rear, sufficient numbers being left to guard and secure the city. Early on the following morning, when the natives were least expecting an assault, the appointed detachments impatiently sallied from the city, and falling on the wing of Roderic's army, completely broke down any opposition it was able to offer, and following up their advantage along the monarch's line, slew without mercy, even until the fall of night, when they returned to the city, wearied by their bloody victory, but much enriched with spoils, and with what was then even more welcome, ample stores of provisions. Roderic himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The native chieftains fled in every direction, and the allies from the isles took to sea without another effort. Hasculph himself, however, was taken prisoner as he was hurrying to his ship, and having, when brought before the English leader, expressed himself in terms deemed unbecoming, and certainly imprudent in a captive, was instantly ordered to execution. Milo de Cogan was thereupon re-instated in the government of Dublin, and Strongbow marched with his adherents to the relief of Fitz Stephen in Wexford.

The political exertions of the archbishop were not, however, paralyzed by these unexpected discomfitures. With unwearied zeal he still laboured to organize an effective opposition against Strongbow

and his followers, but the arrival of King Henry the Second at Waterford, in the October following, with considerable forces, having given a new character to the invasion, and most of the leading men of Ireland having submitted to him, Laurence, together with the principal archbishops, bishops, and abbots of the country, repaired to that city, and, in obedience to the bull of Pope Adrian, then for the first time exhibited, respectively submitted themselves to him, the English king, as their temporal lord and ruler. In the Christmas following, Archbishop Laurence assisted at the synod convened at Cashel by the king's orders, wherein several canons were established for the prevention of marriages within certain degrees of kindred, the more solemn administration of baptism, the due payment of parochial tithes, the immunity of church lands and of the clergy from secular exactions, the distribution of the property of deceased persons according to their wishes solemnly avowed before death, or an equitable division in case of no such avowal, the administration of the last rites to the dying, the regulation of burials, and the conformity of divine service in Ireland with that of the Church of England; while it is very remarkable, that, notwithstanding the great reform which it was alleged the Irish nation required, not only were all the bishops and ecclesiastics, who were present on that occasion, natives, with the exception of three, Henry's immediate chaplain and advisers, but it was actually not deemed necessary to make any canons at this synod relative to religious doctrine, or even the more

essential points of discipline; and some of the decrees are evidently of a political rather than an ecclesiastical tendency.

About the year 1173, this prelate gave the amiable example, not only of Christian forgiveness, but yet more of that cordiality, with which persons most opposed in politics should concur in the cause of religion and charity, and co-operating with Strongbow, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Raymond le Gros, undertook the enlargement of Christ Church; and, accordingly, at their own charges, erected the choir, the steeple, and two chapels, one dedicated to St. Edmund, king and martyr, and to St. Mary; and the other to St. Laud. He adhered, however, not the less faithfully to the fallen fortunes of his former sovereign, and as zealously, but more peaceably endeavoured to uphold them, as far as circumstances would now permit. Accordingly in 1175, when Roderic O'Conor was reduced to narrow his negotiations and exertions to the sole object of securing the sovereignty of his own province of Connaught, he despatched Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, the Abbot of St. Brandan, and Archbishop Laurence, (styled in the treaty, Roderic's chancellor,) to wait upon King Henry at Windsor, where he held his court. There these emissaries concluded that remarkable treaty, which is yet extant, and in which the contracting parties are both named kings, Henry of England, and Roderic of Connaught.* It was,

* Rymer's Fœdera ad ann.

on this occasion, Archbishop O'Toole visited the shrine of Thomas-a-Becket at Canterbury; and, as the writer of his life says, narrowly escaped death from an insane individual, who conceived he would do a meritorious action by murdering the prelate, and assimilating his fate with that of Becket. Accordingly, he rushed upon him as he was celebrating mass, beat him down, and inflicted grievous wounds upon his head. When the archbishop recovered, the king, on hearing of the circumstance, would have punished the attempt by the death of the offender, but the archbishop interceded for his life, which was spared accordingly.

In 1176, when the remains of Strongbow were deposited in the church he had so lately beautified and enlarged, when "the proud invader" was let down into the grave, amidst a population whose homes he had desolated, Archbishop Laurence presided at the solemn rites, that close the enmities of man and mingle, with the better recollections of the dead, the hopes and prayers that point to everlasting life; yet, with what deep reflections must he have witnessed the clay thrown over that cold corse, that was once animated with such an adventurous spirit, the narrow home of him who was the prominent actor in the catastrophe of a nation, whose successful ambition had triumphed over the independence of Ireland, subverted its ancient constitution, dissolved the privileges of its families, confined its monarch within a portion of the remotest province of his former kingdom, and erected out of the remainder, palatinates and baronies,

yet, in the words of William of Newbridge, "carried to the grave no part of those spoils he coveted so eagerly in life, putting to risk even his eternal salvation to amass them; but at last leaving to unthankful heirs all he had acquired through so much toil and danger, affording, by his fate, a salutary lesson to mankind."

In 1177 Cardinal Vivian presided as legate at a council in Dublin, where the right of the King of England to the sovereignty of Ireland, in virtue of the Pope's authority, was further inculcated. There is no positive evidence, however, that Archbishop Laurence took part in this proceeding, although he appears, in other transactions, conjointly with Vivian during his stay in Ireland. In 1178 he granted and confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity, those of St. Michan, St. Michael, St. John the Evangelist, St. Brigid, St. Paul, and all the profits of the mills, which the said church was known to possess without the walls near the bridge, and the fishery with the tithes of salmon and of all other fishes on either side of the water-course of the Liffey, and all the lands of Ratheny, Portrane, Rathsillan, Kinsaly, the third part of Cloghney, the third part of Killallin, Lisluan, Killester, Duncuanach, Glasnevin, Magdunia, St. Doulogh's, Ballymacamleib, Cloncoen, Tallagh, Tullaghcoen, Killingincleam, Kiltinan, Rathsallaghan, Tullaghnaescope, Drumhing, Ballyrochaican, half of Rathmihi, Tiradran, Ballyrochan, and Ballymoailph, with all their appurtenances for ever.*

* Roll in Christ Church.

In 1179 this archbishop, with some other Irish prelates, proceeded to Rome, to assist at the General Council then held there, being the second Council of Lateran. King Henry, however, before he would permit them to pass through his dominions, exacted from them a solemn oath, not to prejudice him or his empire in the progress of their mission. On Laurence's arrival at Rome, he obtained a bull from the pope, confirming the dioceses of Glendalough, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory, to his metropolitical authority, and further assuring to his own see its lands and possessions, as therein most fully detailed. The Pope also created him legate of Ireland, in virtue of which commission, according to his biographers, he, afterwards, on his return, exercised legatine authority in his native country.

In 1180, according to Hoveden and Benedict, he again passed out of Ireland, entrusted by the unfortunate Roderic, to place that prince's son as an hostage with the English king, then sojourning in Normandy, as was stipulated in the before-mentioned treaty of Windsor. There the archbishop was detained by the king, whose displeasure he had incurred, as Cambrensis alleges, by having, through zeal for his country's service, made some harsh representations at Rome of the Anglo-Irish Government, and obtained from the Pope privileges derogatory of the royal dignity. But, as all history evinces that this patriotic prelate discharged the duties of his high clerical station in the most exemplary manner, and even yielded his political antipathies to the necessities

of the times, it may be naturally concluded, that his remonstrances and authority were only such as justice would warrant, and directed against the barbarity of the adventurers of the day. Such honest representations, of the encroachments they would have made in temporal and spiritual property, should be fairly considered as so far from violating Laurence's engagement to Henry, that, in reality, the honest interest of the English crown could not be better advanced, than by the suppression of the wanton outrages he vainly witnessed. It was by the disregard of his expostulations that a host of needy adventurers were endowed in Ireland, and a government founded within the pale of that devoted country, which was felt only in its power to do injustice. Well had it been, if the consequences of that misrule had died with the tyrants who first perpetrated it. Unfortunately, however, for the generations of ages, the acts of those detached and licentious chiefs were permitted to assume the name of English administration, and bigotries were engendered, and hatreds associated, which only the nineteenth century is dissolving.

Archbishop Laurence lived to see his country the patrimony of strangers; but, to the last hour of his existence, he laboured to avert the evils of that dispensation, and to place a country, whose intestine divisions made it incapable and unworthy of independence, under the lawful protection of England's Kings, not the fickle despotism of alien Palatines. In the midst, however, of the ill-merited restraints imposed upon him, it was too fatally evinced, that

banishment from his country accelerated his dissolution. In Normandy the sickness fell upon him, and, conscious that the hour of his demise was approaching, he retired into the monastery of Regular Canons, at Eu, on the confines of that province, anxious to close his life within its peaceful walls, and amidst the brethren of his favourite order. Yet, even in the sacred reflections of that moment, the afflictions of his country lived in his remembrance; from his death bed, he is recorded as having sent a monk of the fraternity to the camp of Henry, to implore "peace" for Ireland; and, when some token of assent was given by the King, and communicated to the prelate, it mingled with the hopes of a dying Christian, and he sunk into his last repose on the 14th of November, 1180. Immediately after his burial, which took place at Eu, King Henry despatched Jeoffrey de la Hay, his chaplain, into Ireland, to seize the revenues of the see, which he held over for nearly one year.

The remains of Archbishop Laurence were, at first, placed in a shrine before the altar of the martyr Leodegarius; but, when the prelate was canonized, in 1218, by Pope Honorius the Third, they were, with great solemnity, translated, and placed over the high altar, where they were long preserved in a silver shrine. The abbey, that was sanctified by his death, was, on his canonization, dedicated anew to him, and his festival has continued to be celebrated there yearly, with one office of nine lessons, as it is also observed in Ireland, under the particular sanction of

a decree of Pope Benedict the Fourteenth. "Cherish in your memory," says that pontiff, addressing the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, "Cherish in your memory St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, whom our predecessor, St. Celestine, sent to you, of whose apostolic mission and preaching, such an abundant harvest has grown, that Ireland, before his time idolatrous, was suddenly called, and deservedly is, the Island of Saints; cherish in your memory St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, whose ardour for the conversion of souls St. Bernard has depicted in the boldest colouring. He stood forth undaunted, in every manner prepared to convert the wolves into sheep, to admonish in public, to convince in private, to touch the chords of the heart boldly or gently, as suited the subject. Traversing the country, he sought the aspirations which he might turn to the service of the true God; neither was he carried by horse, but on foot, like an apostle, he performed his mission. And yet, with even more sincerity, cherish in your memory St. Laurence, the Archbishop of Dublin, whom, born as he was of royal blood, our predecessor, Alexander the Third, in the Council of Lateran, selected as his legate apostolic for Ireland, and whom Honorius the Third, alike our predecessor, afterwards canonized; whence you may well know what services that saintly man rendered to his flock. But if yet more we were to exhort you to cherish in your memory the very holy men, Columbanus, Kilian, Virgil, Rumold, St. Gall, and the many others who, coming out of Ireland, carried the true faith over the provinces

of the continent, or established it with the blood of their martyrdom, we should far exceed the limits of a letter. Suffice it to commend to you, to bear in memory the religion and the piety of those that have preceded you, and the solicitude for the duties of their station, which has established their everlasting glory and happiness."*

In reference to his personal appearance, St. Laurence is represented as having been tall, and graceful in stature, of a comely presence, and, in his outward habit, grave but rich. His life, published by Surius, is said to have been written by Ralph of Bristol, Bishop of Kildare, in the commencement of the thirteenth century; and a correct copy thereof is reported to be in Archbishop Ussher's collection, in Trinity College, Dublin. The biography, from which the chief facts above related have been selected, was written by a brother of the monastery of Eu, and is published in Messingham's *Florilegium*. It but remains to mention, that, in the Roman Catholic church, St. Laurence is the patron saint of the diocese of Dublin.†

JOHN COMYN.

[Suc. 1181. Ob. 1212.]

When the English monarch could no longer keep this see vacant, and absorb its revenues, he resolved

* De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 22.

† It should be here noted, that the attack of Hasculph on Dublin, stated *ante*, p. 56, &c., as in aid of the siege by Roderic and the natives, is by some stated as a distinct and earlier occurrence.

that an office, of so much consequence and value, should not be entrusted to an Irishman, entertaining some apprehensions, perhaps justifiable at the crisis, that a native might assume the mantle of the departed prelate, and consummate, with more hostility, those political objects which St. Laurence had laboured to effect in peace. Accordingly, on the monarch's urgent recommendation, his chaplain, John Comyn, a native of England, a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Evesham, and a man of learning and eloquence, was, on the 6th of September, in the year 1181, elected to the archbishopric of Dublin, by some of the clergy of that city, who had assembled at Evesham for the purpose. He was not then a priest, but was subsequently, in the same year, ordained such, at Velletri; and, on Palm Sunday (21st March) was there consecrated archbishop by Pope Lucius the Third, who, also, by a bull dated the 13th of April, 1182, took under his especial protection, and confirmed to this see, the manor of Swords, with its church and other appurtenances, the town of Lusk, with its church and appurtenances, &c. He also further established its metropolitan authority over the suffragan sees, ordered that no canons or monks, or clergymen in any of the churches of the diocese, should remove or appoint chaplains therein, unless fortified in so doing by privilege from Rome, or by ancient and reasonable custom, prohibited the selling, aliening, or incumbering church property, without the consent of the archbishop, or any similar acts by the archbishop himself; and, lastly, in pursuance of the authority of the Holy Canons, ordered and de-

creed that no archbishop, or bishop, should, without the assent of the archbishop of Dublin, (if in his bishopric,) presume to hold, within the diocese of Dublin, any conference, or to entertain any causes or ecclesiastical matters of the same diocese, unless enjoined thereto by the Roman pontiff, or his legate.* From this latter privilege, which appears to have been introduced as against the antiquated claims of Canterbury, arose that controversy on the Jus Primatiale between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, which continued to distract both provinces for centuries afterwards, the archbishop of Armagh contending, that, notwithstanding this grant, he had a right of primacy, of bearing up the cross, and of holding appeals and visitations in the whole province of Leinster. Cambrensis, who was personally acquainted with Archbishop Comyn, asserts, that at the said time of his consecration, he was created a cardinal; but, as there is no assumption of this title in any of Comyn's charters yet extant, nor any evidence thereof in Onuphrius or Ciaconius, who have published catalogues of the cardinals, nor in the very bull of Pope Lucius before mentioned, Ware very reasonably concludes, that Giraldus was mistaken in this particular.

Notwithstanding the necessities of the province over which he was thus appointed to preside, and the singularly arduous duties he had to prosecute, if the English representations of the state of Ireland could be fully accredited, Comyn deferred visiting that

* Alani Regist. f. 2. Ware and Harris completely mistake the meaning of the original.

country for three whole years, until at last, in September, 1184, he was despatched thither by the king, to prepare for the reception of Prince John, Earl of Moreton, whom his royal father had resolved to send into this country. It was, upon this occasion, according to some,* that the king conferred upon Comyn and his successors, the lands of Coillagh and its appurtenances, in barony tenure, in which right he became a lord of parliament, and was the first of the Irish hierarchy invested with those feudal and baronial rights, which the Norman policy had introduced, as particularly mentioned at "Swords," in the "History of the County of Dublin." In 1185, he was one of the English nobles, who, as pre-arranged, received John and his train on his arrival at Waterford; and in the same year obtained from the boy prince, during his sojourn in Ireland, a grant of the Bishopric of Glendalough, with all its appurtenances in lands, manors, churches, tithes, fisheries, liberties, &c., to hold to him and his successors for ever.† This grant Prince John professes to make under the impulse of divine love, and for the safety of his soul, and that of his father and all his ancestors and successors, and in consideration of the thinness of the population and the poverty of the church of Dublin. It was provided, however, that this union should not take effect until after the decease of the then Bishop of Glendalough, William Piro, an event which did not occur until the year 1214, when Comyn was himself in the grave.

* Liber Niger and Crede Mihi. † Ib.

In the year 1186, after the return of Prince John into England, Archbishop Comyn held a provincial synod in Dublin, in the church of the Holy Trinity, which began to sit on the Sunday Lætare Jerusalem, or the fourth Sunday of Lent. The canons there agreed to, and confirmed under the leaden seal of Pope Urban the Third, are yet extant among the archives preserved in Christ Church, Dublin, and are as follow:—The first prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table (or altar) according to the usage of Ireland, and enjoins that in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone; and, if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar could not be had, that in such case a square, entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chantries, or oratories, if necessity compelled the use of wooden altars, that then the mass should be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size, firmly fixed in the wood.—Second provides, that the coverings of the holy mysteries shall spread over the whole upper part of the altar, and that a cloth shall cover the front of the same, and reach to the ground or floor. These coverings to be always whole and clean.—Third, that in monasteries and rich churches, chalices be provided of gold and silver; but in poorer churches, where such cannot be afforded, that pewter chalices may be substituted, which must be likewise

kept pure and clean.—Fourth, that the Host which represents the Lamb without spot, the Alpha and Omega, be made so white and pure, that the partakers thereof may thereby understand the purifying and feeding of their souls rather than their bodies.—Fifth, that the wine in the sacrament be so tempered with water, that it be not deprived either of the natural taste or colour.—Sixth, that all vestments and coverings belonging to the church be clean, fine, and white.—Seventh, that a lavatory of stone or wood be set up, and so contrived with a hollow, that whatever is poured into it may fall through and lodge in the earth; through which, also, the last washing of the priest's hands after the holy communion may pass.—Eighth enjoins, that an immoveable font be placed in the middle of every baptismal church, or in such other part of it as the paschal procession may conveniently pass round. That it be made of stone, or of wood lined with lead for cleanness, wide and large above, bored through to the bottom, and so contrived, that, after the ceremony of baptism be ended, the holy water may by a secret pipe be conveyed down to mother earth.—Ninth, that the coverings of the altar, and other vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, be burned within the enclosure of the church, and the ashes transmitted through the aforesaid pipe of the font, to be buried in the bowels of the earth.—Tenth prohibits any vessels used in baptism, from being applied ever after to any domestic purposes.—Eleventh forbids, under the pain of an anathema, any person from burying in a churchyard, unless he can

show by an authentic writing, or undeniable evidence, that it was consecrated by a bishop, not only as a sanctuary or place of refuge, but also as a place of sepulture; and that no laymen shall presume to bury their dead in such a consecrated place, without the presence of a priest.—Twelfth forbids the celebration of divine service in chapels built by laymen, to the detriment of the mother churches.—Thirteenth recites, that *the clergy of Ireland*, among other virtues, have been always remarkably eminent for their chastity, and that it would be ignominious if they should be corrupted, through his (the archbishop's) negligence, by the foul contagion of *strangers*, and the example of a few incontinent men; and, therefore, prohibits, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, any priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, from having or retaining any woman in their houses, either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever, unless a mother, own sister, or such a person, whose age should remove all suspicion of any unlawful commerce.—Fourteenth contains an interdict against simony, under the before-mentioned penalty of losing both office and benefice.—Fifteenth directs, that if any clerk should receive an ecclesiastical benefice from a lay hand, unless after a third monition he renounce that possession which he obtained by intrusion, he should be anathematized, and for ever deprived of the said benefice.—Sixteenth prohibits a bishop from ordaining the inhabitant of another diocese without the commendatory letters of such person's proper bishop, or of the archdeacon,

and orders that none shall be promoted to holy orders, without a certain title of a benefice assigned to him.—Seventeenth prohibits the conferring on one person, two holy orders in one day.—Eighteenth provides, that all persons living unchastely together, shall be compelled to celebrate a lawful marriage; and, also, that no person, the offspring of an illicit connexion, should be promoted to holy orders, nor be esteemed heir either to father or mother, unless they be afterwards joined in lawful matrimony. —Nineteenth directs, that tithes be paid to the mother churches out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema after the third monition, and that those, who continue obstinate in refusing to pay same, shall be compelled to punctuality for the future.—Twentieth provides, that all archers, and all others who carry arms, not for the defence of the people but for plunder and sordid lucre, shall, on every Lord's day be excommunicated with bell, book, and candle, and, in the last extremity, be denied the rites of Christian burial.

On the 3rd of September, 1189, Archbishop Comyn assisted at the coronation of King Richard the First, and was a witness of that monarch's letters patent* for surrendering to William, King of Scotland, the castles of Rockbork and Berwick, thereby acknowledged to belong to the Scottish king by he-

* Rymer's Fœdera ad ann.

reditary right. He also, on the 17th of September following, assisted at a council of the nobility and gentry, which the same monarch, previous to his departure for the Holy Land, assembled in the Abbey of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, on which occasion, the regency of the kingdom, during the monarch's absence, was arranged. There, likewise, on the ensuing day, Comyn consecrated John, Bishop elect of Whitherne.

In the following year, this prelate, having taken down an old parochial church which was said to have been founded by St. Patrick, in the southern suburbs of the city of Dublin, erected on its site the fair edifice, which was also dedicated to that saint, elevated it to the rank of a collegiate establishment, and endowed it with suitable possessions, placing in it thirteen prebendaries, afterwards augmented to the present number. He also, about the same time, partly repaired and partly enlarged the choir of the cathedral of Christ Church, and founded and endowed the nunnery of Grace Dieu in the County of Dublin, for regular canonesses of the order of St. Augustine, whom he removed thither from the more ancient convent of Lusk.

Early in the year 1191 John Earl of Moreton, as Lord of Ireland, confirmed to this prelate and his successors, all liberties theretofore granted to his see, with the extraordinary additional licence, that he and they might hold a court throughout the land of Ireland, and administer justice to their own people, as well within as without this diocese. Har-

ris doubts the authenticity of the instrument, on the ground, that at the time, to which he refers it, (1184,) John had no power to give such an extent of authority; the grant, however, from the names of the witnesses and other internal evidence, is correctly referrible to the above year, when John's assumption of power was more probable, in the absence of King Richard at the siege of Acre, and the charter is undoubtedly preserved amongst the most ancient documents of the See in Christ Church. About the same time, Maolisa, on being raised to the See of Clogher, surrendered to this prelate and his successors his claim to the church of All Hallows near Dublin, reserving it, however, to himself during his life, to be held of the said archbishop and of the church of the Holy Trinity.

In 1192 Prince John gave this prelate an additional mark of his favour, confirming to him and his successors for ever the previous grant of the bishopric of Glendalough, "so that upon its vacancy the archbishop should hold it without rendering any account to the crown therefore, and should provide for it according to his discretion, and that, in the mean time, the bishop elect should be his chaplain and vicegerent;" the charter of which grant was, thereupon, confirmed by the apostolic legate, Matthew O'Heney, Archbishop of Cashel, at a great synod held in Dublin. Comyn had at the same time a royal grant for an eight day fair, to be held in his town of Swords, with all customs to the same justly appertaining; and, in the exercise of his worldly prudence, still farther forti-

fied the rights of his see by a confirmation of its possessions, both spiritual and temporal, from Eva, the daughter and heiress of Dermot Mac Murrough, while in 1193 he obtained from Pope Celestine the Third a further assurance of the see of Glendalough, according to the above arrangement of the legate.

In 1197 this prelate was much harassed and despoiled by Hamo de Valoniis, *alias* de Valois, who, being appointed Justiciary of Ireland under Prince John, and finding the government embarrassed by the want of a treasury, seized on several lands belonging to this see notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop. Representations of these and other wilful and unauthorised spoliations by de Valois having been made at Rome, and Comyn having felt himself obliged to fly to France, Pope Innocent the Third wrote a remonstrance to John, dated 18th September, 1198, in which he complained of the unjust and outrageous conduct of the Deputy, and also of John himself, for having detained the archbishop in Normandy. Hamo was thereupon recalled from the government, having greatly enriched himself by the plunder of not only the church, but the laity. It is recorded, however, that he soon felt remorse for his crimes towards Comyn, and, in part compensation therefore, made a grant of twenty ploughlands to the archbishop and his successors for ever. But the resentment which John conceived, by reason of the appeal to Rome, was more inflexibly cherished, and not until 1206, does he seem to have received the prelate to his favour, as is testified by

a record of that year, preserved in the Chapter-house of Westminster, wherein the king, after reciting that he had given up his "anger and indignation" against the Archbishop of Dublin, and received him into full favour, commands the Lord Justice of Ireland to protect him from any injury, and to restore to him the lands and liberties which he enjoyed, "on the day when the discord first commenced between us and him, concerning our foresters and others our servants."

Comyn survived this reconciliation about six years, and, dying on the 25th of October, in the year 1212, was buried in Christ Church, where a marble monument was erected to his memory, in the south side of the choir which he had repaired and enlarged.

HENRY DE LOUNDRES.

[Succ. 1213. Ob. 1228.]

Before the close of the year 1212 Henry of London, Archdeacon of Stafford, was elected into this archiepiscopal see, and, about the beginning of the year following, was consecrated. The appointment did not, however, immediately or permanently remove him from England, and he is found a sitting member of King John's council, a spiritual baron of the realm, in the most important transactions of that reign. In the year 1213, when that monarch executed his charter of surrender of the crowns of England and Ireland to Pandulph, the Pope's legate,

de Loundres was present, but protested against the deed, and, it might seem, refused to subscribe it as a witness. It accordingly concludes, "Teste rege, *coram* Henrico Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi et aliis." Soon after which he was sent to conduct Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the exiled bishops, to the King's presence.* In the July of the same year, he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, in the administration of which office he continued until the year 1215, while, in the intermediate year, (1214,) his sovereign confirmed to him the archiepiscopal lands, and particularly those of Coillagh with its appurtenances, which, as the charter roll, of record in the Tower of London, states, had been previously granted "in baroniam," with, however, the especial reservation, that the King, on his going into Ireland, might resume these lands, on assigning others in a peaceable and convenient situation to the see. In the same year, upon the death of William Piro, the last legally recognised Bishop of Glendalough, that see, which had existed separate for about 600 years, was virtually united and annexed to the diocese of Dublin, as before mentioned in the preliminary account of its constitution; but, although this arrangement was established as well by popes as by kings, many distinct individuals† will be found in the

* Rot. claus. 15 John.

† At some future period, the memoirs of these persons, their see, and the lovely and interesting country of their jurisdiction may be published by the author of this work. It has been some years since nearly compiled.

possession of Glendalough, as a separate see, either by usurpation, or pontifical promotion, from the period here mentioned down to the year 1497, and so maintained by the septs of a country not then a portion of the English pale.

In 1215 de Loundres, being cited to Rome to assist at a general council, committed the government of Ireland to Geoffrey de Mariscis, under the title of "Custos;" and, passing through England, was, on the 15th of June, in the same year, present and of council with King John, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops and barons of England, when the King executed the Magna Charta and the Carta de Forestâ at Runimede, and his name is mentioned in the said charters, as having advised the king to ratify them; but, although this prelate and William Earl Marshal, a baron of great weight and extensive property in Ireland, were both attendant on the king, and intimately in his councils, it does not appear, upon this great occasion, that any particular requisitions were made in behalf of his subjects in Ireland, or any measures taken for including them specifically in the recognitions from the crown. On his arrival in Rome, Pope Innocent the Third ratified the aforesaid union of Glendalough with Dublin, and, in 1216, confirmed the possessions of the see, enumerating them as the churches of St. Patrick in Dublin, Saints Peter and Paul in Glendalough, Monecolumbkill, Kenhell, Inisboiden, St. Brigid near Arklow, with all their appurtenances; the advowsons of the monasteries of

All Hallows without the city of Dublin, Holmpatrick, the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem without the New Gate, and the advowsons of the churches of the Salmon-Leap, Confee, Moone, and of the town of Robert Widside ; all parish churches within the walls and in the suburbs of the said city, and all other churches which are in the valley of Dublin with their appurtenances ; the houses and buildings at St. Sepulchre with their burgages and appurtenances; the manors of St. Kevin, Swords, Lusk, Clonmethan, Portrane, Finglas, Clondalkin, Rathcoole, with the Newtown, Tallagh, Kilnasantan, Taney, Rathmichael, Stagonil, Killadreene, Kilcoole, Glendalough, Ballymore, the holy wood of Coillagh, Donaghchimelagh, Tipperkevin, Tobber, Dunlavan, Donard, and Kilbele, Dunboke, Rathsallaghan, Donanamore, Strabo, Arderia, Crothekevin, Shankill, Killmakebur, Brederi, Adkip, and Cronane, with the appurtenances of the same ; the islands of Lambay, Ireland's Eye, Dalkey, and a knight's fee in Howth. He also confirmed the suffragan sees of this province, as Ossory, Leighlin, Ferns, and Kildare, with all the rights and privileges of the pall, and interdicted any other archbishop or bishop from holding conferences, or entertaining causes in the diocese of Dublin, in nearly the same terms as Pope Lucius had done in favour of his predecessor in 1182.

In the same year, (1216,) Archbishop de Loundres had a grant to him and his successors* from King

* Harris's Ware, p. 300.

John, of the manor of Penkeriz, with the villages of Cungrave, Culega, Wuolgareston, and Beffecote, the land of the Duun, the fair of the village of Penkeriz, and the deanery of the church of St. Mary of Penkeriz, in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield; and the king also conferred upon him and his successors the lordship or manor of Timothan. These grants being avowedly made in part satisfaction of the deep obligations which the monarch owed to de Loundres, for undertaking to build the Castle of Dublin, as some say, at his own expense, his other charges in the King's service, while he was Lord Justice, his attendance at the court of Rome to solicit aid against the barons, and the singular additional item of his having "promptly bought up as much scarlet cloth as would serve to make robes for the King of Ireland and other his (John's) liege subjects there, when he received instructions to that effect, by writ of the 23rd of August, 1215."* "Probably," says Leland, commenting on the latter circumstance, "these robes were made after the English mode. If so, it was by no means a contemptible device to endeavour to habituate those chiefs to the English garb, and by their example to render it fashionable in their territories. The gentler and less offensive method of introducing an advantageous change of apparel, gradually and imperceptibly, under the appearance of grace and favour, had it been pursued with steadiness and address, might have proved more effectual than the penal laws

* Rymer's Fœdera ad ann.

of later times, which, by an avowed and violent opposition to the manners of the Irish, proved too odious to be executed." From the period of those grants, each succeeding archbishop of Dublin assumed the title, as recorded in the Liber Niger. "N. miseratione divinâ, ecclesiarum cathedralium sanctissimæ Trinitatis regularis abbas, et sancti Patricii episcopus, et sedis apostolicæ gratiâ archiepiscopus ac Hibernensis ecclesiæ primas, liberæque capellæ regiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Penkeriz in Angliâ decanus natus, princeps Palatinus de Harold's Cross, coepiscopatuumque sedibus suffraganeorum vacantibus custos, spiritualitatis jurisdictionis atque omnium decimarum in eâdem provinciâ custos." The advowson of this church of Penkeriz, it is here to be observed, was originally conferred by King Stephen on the church of Litchfield; but, being endowed with lands, and made collegiate by a person named Hugh Hussey, that individual gave it to King John, who, thereupon, made the above disposition of it to de Loundres. This establishment consisted of a dean, eight prebendaries, two residentiary canons without prebends, a sacrist, who was a canon, and the dean's vicar, and had the benefit of mortuaries and other casualties. One of those prebends, it appears by a taxation recited by Plott, was called the Dean's Prebend, which probably was annexed to the dignity of the dean, after the constitution of this church was again altered from a collegiate into that of a dean and chapter. There are various records, some of which are alluded to hereafter, recognising the rights of the see of Dublin

herein, even down to the eighteenth century, when it passed into other hands.

In 1217, the Pope having constituted this prelate his legate in Ireland, he convened a synod at Dublin, "wherein," according to the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, "he established many things profitable for the state of the Irish church." Its canons are extant in the ancient Register of Christ Church, called "Crede Mihi." About the same time, or a short time previously, de Loundres annexed to the economy of St. Patrick's, the tithes of the lands of the citizens of Dublin near Donnybrook, half a burgage near St. Kevin's gate, a mill near Dunore, and the church of Monecolumbkill, with its appendant chapels.

In 1219, Jeffrey de Mariscis having been recalled from the government of Ireland, this prelate again assumed its administration, which he continued to exercise until the year 1224. In 1220 he is said to have put out the fire called inextinguishable, which appears to have been kindled by St. Brigid at Kildare, possibly to allure the gentiles of her day by the presence of their revered element, solemnly mingled with the uses of a pure spiritual worship, and which Cambrensis alleges was kept up by the successive nuns of her establishment. In the same year, de Loundres removed the religious fraternity of Holmpatrick to the more convenient foundation at Skerries.

In 1221 Pope Honorius further prohibited any archbishop or bishop from holding conferences or trials in the province of Dublin, or erecting the cro-

zier therein, excepting, however, the archbishop's suffragans, and any authorized legate of the Pope. In the following year, this prelate gave to the cathedral of St. Patrick, and to the church of the Holy Trinity, a yearly pension of 10*s.* each, being the amount which the citizens of Dublin were adjudged to pay, as compensation for having enclosed and tilled a parcel of ground belonging to him, and to the use of which his grace's tenants of St. Sepulchre's and St. Kevin's were entitled as a common of pasture.* Soon afterwards, however, his own encroachments on the rights of the crown† in behalf of the church, and his drawing temporal causes into the ecclesiastical courts, excited considerable prejudice against him. The citizens of Dublin particularly complained of such his practices, and, in consequence of their representations, the king issued a mandate,‡ peremptorily prohibiting any recurrence of such injustice, and the prelate was obliged to conclude an agreement with the citizens in reference to the matter, which is of record and dated the 18th of March, 1224. In the same year, the abbot and fraternity of Tewkesbury, to whose house Prince John granted the lands of Dungarvan in the diocese of Lismore, sold same to this prelate in consideration of £24, the estate being declared to be utterly unprofitable and waste in their hands.

In 1225 (according to Prynne) Pope Honorius

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* Crede Mihi. † Rot. Claus. 7 Hen. III.

‡ See Prynne, V. 3, 63, &c.

sent a Bull to de Loundres, giving him authority to summon all such as detained the king's castles in Ireland, and if, on investigation, the fact should be established against any, then to compel the delinquents, unless otherwise acquiescent, to surrender same under pain of ecclesiastical censures for their disobedience. In the same year, this prelate granted the church of Mone to the economy of St. Patrick's, and concluded another agreement with the citizens of Dublin, whereby his tenants were to enjoy the freedom and privileges of the city; they covenanting to contribute, besides the ordinary local charges, their just proportion of any talliage or aid granted at the special mandate of the king.* In 1227 a taxation was made of the dignities of St. Patrick's cathedral, with the object of levying, from each non-resident prebendary, one-fifth of the revenue of the prebend for the use of the working clergy. The respective valuations on this occasion were as follow :—

Mone . . .	10 marks.	Taney . . .	40 marks.
Dunlavin . .	15 do.	Clonkene . .	40 do.
Donaghmore .	15 do.	Rathmichael .	20 do.
Ballymore . .	20 do.	St. Michael's .	100 shillings.
Tipperkevin, .	10 do.	Castleknock. .	40 marks.
Dunethymelach	40 do.	Finglas . . .	50 do.
Newcastle . .	20 do.	Howth . . .	20 do.
Saggard . . .	10 do.	Swords . . .	100 do.
Kilnasantan .	15 do.	Clonmethan .	15 do.
Clondalkin . .	120 do.	Lusk	80 do.

In the same year the king's writ issued to de Loun-

* Liber Niger.

dres, as also to the other Irish archbishops, commanding them, when any cathedral in their dioceses of the king's advowson should be void, to admit no person to it, until it appeared to them by his letters patent, that the electors had his licence to proceed to election; immediately after which, Pope Gregory the Ninth confirmed certain grants of churches and lands which this archbishop and his chapter had made to their dean.

In 1228 King Henry the Third, mindful of the before-mentioned obligations which de Loundres had rendered to his father and the state, issued a writ* to the Lords Justices, reciting them, and directing a grant to this prelate of the custody of all vacant archbishoprics and bishopries in Ireland, the profits to be received by the hands of John de St. John, Bishop of Ferns, and Treasurer of Ireland, and by G. de Theurville, Archdeacon of Dublin, and to be paid over to the archbishop, until the debts and obligations due by the crown to him should thereout be satisfied. On the 10th of May in the same year, the king issued another writ† to Richard de Burgo, Lord Justice of Ireland, the said Bishop of Ferns, and Archdeacon of Dublin, empowering them to audit the accounts concerning the money raised out of the vacant sees in pursuance of the above, to credit the king for what the archbishop received thereout, and to certify how much was paid, and how much remained due; while a further royal writ assigned one hundred

* Rot. Pat. 12 Hen. III. † Rot. Claus. 12 Hen. III.

pounds out of the farm rents of the city of Limerick, and fifty marks annually out of the farm of the city of Dublin, as an additional fund for liquidating the said demands.

During the time this archbishop presided over the see and province of Dublin, he erected the collegiate church of St. Patrick into a cathedral, "united," as Allen says in his Registry, "with the cathedral of the Holy Trinity in one spouse, saving to the other church the prerogative of honour." He constituted William Fitz Guy the first dean thereof, and appointed a precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, to whom he allotted lands and rectories. He granted thirteen days' indulgence to penitents visiting the abbey of Glastonbury* in England; and, some short time before his death, gave to the prior and convent of Christ Church a piece of ground, for which Gilbert Comyn paid him the annual rent of three marks, in order to facilitate the erection of a gatehouse at the entrance of their church, and in consideration of their having granted to him a perpetual anniversary, to be observed in their convent, to his memory. The original instrument of this agreement, with the seal of de Loundres annexed, is among the archieves of Christ Church. Having filled this see during fifteen years, he died about the beginning of July, in the year 1228, and is said to have been buried under a wooden monument near the north wall of Christ Church, opposite to his predecessor,

* Chron. Glast. Hearne, V. ii. p. 384.

Comyn. There are now, however, no traces of his tomb.

The circumstances under which he obtained the opprobrious epithet of "Scorch-villain," as related in the "Liber Niger" or Black Book of Christ Church, are heavily reproachful to his memory. Having summoned his tenants to give an account by what title they held their lands, they appeared and produced their deeds, of which he instantly possessed himself, and threw them into the fire, to the prejudice of the unsuspicious farmers. If the transaction really occurred, it is no less discreditable to the character of the archbishop than to the government of the country at the time; and it must be admitted that various other circumstances in the life of this prelate, as alluded to in the above memoir, evincing an avidity to enlarge the rights and possessions of his church, induce too much credence to the probability of his assuming this strange and unjustifiable mode of discontinuing interests, which were possibly unjust and fraudulent in their creation.

LUKE.

[Succ. 1228, Ob. 1255.]

Upon the death of Archbishop Henry, Luke, Dean of St. Martin le Grand, London, and treasurer of the King's wardrobe, was, by the interest of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, whose chaplain he had been, elected to this see, and obtained the royal confirmation thereof, on the 13th of December, 1228.

But this election having been set aside at Rome as not canonical, he was re-elected, and thereupon, though not until the year 1230, confirmed by Pope Gregory the Ninth's bull, *sub plumbo*, which is yet extant in the chapter house of Christ Church, Dublin. The charges of these elections, and the expenses of soliciting the several confirmations of his appointment, were probably the occasion of his disafforesting a district belonging to his see,* for which he was, in the year 1230, called to account, and fined 300 marks; yet, in the same year, he obtained the King's licence for disafforesting another tract within the demesnes of the bishopric of Glendalough, and comprehending a considerable portion of the county of Wicklow. He had, likewise, about the same time, a confirmation to him and his successors of all the possessions theretofore granted to the see, and a distinct ratification† of its rights in Timothan, near Tallagh, which had been theretofore given by King John to de Loundres; but it was not established as a prebend until 1247.

In 1232, when his patron, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, had fallen under the King's displeasure, and was cruelly prosecuted by the court, and deserted by all his friends, Archbishop Luke, to his great credit, adhered unchangeably to his interest, and, by his individual perseverance, succeeded in prevailing on his sovereign to indulge him with milder terms than were originally intended.

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* Rot. Pat. 14 Hen. III. † Allen's Registry.

In the following year the king, by special grant, empowered this archbishop and his successors to make a testamentary distribution of their chattels at any period before their respective deaths; and, on the 26th of September, in 1234, restored to him the town of Stagonil with its appurtenances, and all liberties and free customs thereto appertaining. In 1235 Archbishop Luke founded a chantry in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, at St. Patrick's cathedral;* and, about the year 1237, confirmed the liberties and privileges granted by his predecessor to its dean and chapter.† He also improved the buildings of Christ Church, and endowed that of St. John, without the New Gate, with two burgages and six acres of land in St. Kevin's parish. In 1240 he granted to the vicars serving mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in St. Patrick's cathedral, a certain portion of the revenues of the church of Alderg,‡ as shewn at that locality, in the "History of the County of Dublin;" and, in 1242, assigned, for the further maintenance of said vicars, one-third part of an impost, which, with the consent of the dean and chapter, he had laid on the dignitaries and canons, in order thereby to raise a sum for the benefit of the common fund, and which every new member of the chapter was required to pay, before he obtained possession of the manse of his predecessor. In 1247, at the instance of the said dean and chapter, he made an act for the purpose of enforcing the residence of the

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* Liber Niger. † Dign. Dec. ‡ Allen's Registry.

prebendaries of St. Patrick's cathedral, prescribing that every canon should, within a year after his appointment, repair in person to that church, and swear canonical obedience to the archbishop, his successors, and to the chapter of St. Patrick's, and should also bind himself to observe the customs and approved rules of the church, which, if he failed to do, he was to be deprived of his prebend, his institution and instalment were to be void, and the prebend thus vacated might be conferred on whomsoever the archbishop would think fit.* In the following year, with the consent of the Baron of Offaley, he made the church of Larabrien a prebend of the same cathedral, the perpetual right of presentation being reserved to the baron and his heirs.

About the year 1250 the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Ireland, who were of Irish birth, having in a synod enacted a decree, that no Englishman born should be admitted a canon in any of their churches, King Henry complained thereof to the Pope, who directed a bull to them, dated the 8th of October in that year, commanding them to rescind the said decree within a month, and a special one to Archbishop Luke, and to Jeffrey Turville, Bishop of Ossory, empowering them, if the other prelates did not obey, to declare by his authority such restriction null and void. The same Pope, on the 11th of July, 1252, took under his special protection the churches of this diocese, saving the archiepiscopal rights of

* Allen's Registry.

advowson, &c. therein, which he further confirmed to the see by another bull of the 23rd of October, 1254.

In 1253 a great contest arose between the two cathedrals of Dublin, concerning the election of the successive archbishops upon vacancies,* which Archbishop Luke would have settled by prescribing that the place of election should be only in the church of the Holy Trinity, and that there, as well the prior and convent as the dean and chapter, should, by joint suffrages, elect the new prelate. But the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's were not content with this adjustment, and complained of it to Innocent the Fourth, as a special injustice to them. That Pope thereupon issued his bull, dated the 20th of May, in the tenth year of his pontificate, and still preserved in the archives of Christ Church, whereby he empowered the Bishop of Emly, and the Bishop and Dean of Limerick, to determine the controversy; and, if that could not be done, to remit it for the decision of the apostolic see. About the same time the contest concerning the primacy was warmly carried on between this prelate and Reiner, Archbishop of Armagh.

During the latter years of his life, Archbishop Luke suffered severely by a malady of the eyes, which brought on a total loss of sight, and, ultimately, accelerated his decease, in December, 1255. He was buried in Christ Church, in the same tomb with his predecessor Comyn.

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* Liber Niger.

FULK DE SAUNDFORD.

[Succ. 1256. Ob. 1271.]

After the death of Archbishop Luke, Ralph of Norwich, Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Treasurer of Ireland, was elected to this see by both chapters; but, as Matthew Paris states, he was betrayed in the Court of Rome by those in whom he confided, and by that means lost the accomplishment of his expectations. Matthew, in his sketch of Ralph's character, suggests some circumstances which may have very reasonably prevented the Pope from ratifying his election. "He was a witty, pleasant companion," says the historian, "and one who loved good cheer. In his youth he had the greater part of his education rather in the king's court, than in the schools where the liberal arts were taught. He was elected by the canons Archbishop of Dublin, but being opposed by some, his confirmation was put off, and the electors were reproved for choosing a man altogether secular and worldly, one then under the protection and power of the king, and placed at the receipt of custom in Ireland." This election being thereupon set aside, Fulk de Saundford, so called from the place of his birth in Oxfordshire, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, was, on the 20th of July, 1256, by the Pope's Bull* declared Archbishop, with licence to hold his said treasurership in commendam, and all other prebends and ecclesiastical

* Crede Mihi.

benefices which he held before his promotion, notwithstanding the constitutions of any general council, and, on the 12th of August in the same year, Pope Alexander the Fourth issued his bull for further and better protection of this prelate's right of collation to the livings of his patronage. In the following year, the same pontiff empowered him to choose any discreet priest for his confessor, and, by licence of the 27th of July, 1257, authorized him to unite certain religious houses of the Benedictine and Augustine order, on account of their extreme poverty. In the following year he had leave to rescind and avoid several leases and grants of houses, tithes, rents, lands, and possessions, made by his predecessors (it would seem improvidently) to the Cistercians, Templars, Hospitallers, and to the religious of other orders, as well as to secular clerks and laics, though the consent of both chapters and the confirmation of the Apostolic See are stated to have been given to the grants. The circumstance is confirmatory of the construction put upon the act of his predecessor, in reference to the leases of some of the tenants of the see. On the 4th of November, 1259, the Pope, by Bull reciting the before-mentioned grant in 1216 of the deanery of St. Michael of Penkeriz in the diocese of Coventry to Henry de Loundres, that same had been confirmed by the Holy See, and the said deanery and the prebends appertaining to its collation so held and filled by this prelate and his predecessors for upwards of thirty years, that there were no profits or emoluments annexed to said deanery, and only the patronage of

the prebends, solemnly united it to the church of Dublin for ever, and appointed that the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors should in their own persons enjoy the same.

In 1260 a question, as to the limits of the parishes of the Dublin see contiguous to Baltinglas, having arisen between this prelate and the fraternity of the Cistercian abbey there, was decided by Bull of the 20th of April in that year, as was a more serious claim of tithes payable by the archbishop to the dean and chapter "of the church of Dublin." In the following year, de Saundford took a journey to Rome on business relative to his see, the management of which during his absence was committed by the Pope to the care of the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford.* On this occasion, he obtained from Urban a Bull, whereby, after reciting that it was long accustomed in the province of Dublin, that its archbishop, his suffragans, officers, and other ecclesiastical judges, should have cognizance of contracts and agreements ratified by faithful promises or oaths, of complaints of defamation, and of injuries done to clerks by laymen, but that recently the king's justiciaries impeded them in the exercise of these rights, protected the convicted offenders against ecclesiastical sentences, not only in these cases, but in questions of usury, adultery, and divorce, and prevented the due execution of bequests for pious purposes; such illegal interferences were solemnly prohibited for the future

* Crede Mihi.

under pain of excommunication, or other ecclesiastical censures. While on the other hand, a Bull of the same year confirmed the rights of the primacy in the Archbishop of Armagh, and gave "licence to him and his successors to bear before him the cross, which is the standard of Christ, through all the provinces and bishoprics subject to him, by metropolitical and primatial right, as it is well known was granted to his predecessors."

In 1262 the same Pope issued two Bulls to protect this prelate in the right of visitation of certain churches and chapels, which the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem sought to exempt from his jurisdiction. The archbishop subsequently passed into England, where he remained until 1265, when King Henry, after the defeat of de Montfort and the other barons at the battle of Evesham, sent him back, together with the Bishop of Meath, Lords William de Burgo, and Maurice Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald, also then sojourning in England, as commissioners, with special authority to appease the dissensions that existed between the nobles and magnates of Ireland.

In 1266 the king appears on record, granting to "Robert le Provend, Bishop of Dublin, his heirs, and their tenants," that their goods should not be distrained in any place for debts, wherein they were not principals or sureties, unless where the debtors were within their power, and that the said Robert or his heirs were deficient in doing justice to the creditors. This Robert, however, though styled Bishop of Dublin, was clearly but a coadjutor to Fulk, whose

name occurs in contemporaneous and subsequent records as archbishop of that province.

The before-mentioned bull of 1261 it appears, had not the effect of controlling, at least as fully as was expected by de Saundford, the encroachments of the citizens on the ecclesiastical courts and privileges. At this time the revenues and support of the churches of the diocese consisted, for the most part, in the offerings of the congregations on Sundays and holydays, and on occasions of the benedictions of married women, and the purifications of those after childbirth, all which contributions were publicly made in the churches. The mayor and citizens of Dublin, however, alleged that this exaction had grown into a grievance, and, with the object of correcting its excess, they in 1267 made a penal order, that no citizens should presume to make their offerings more than four times in the year, and restrained the number attending new-married and child-bed women upon these occasions to two, instead of the numerous trains that were usually in attendance. They also seized the wax candles that were carried on occasions of funeral processions, and which had been theretofore usually given to the churches, and deposited them in their own halls; leaving only two wax-lights to the church where the person was buried. They likewise ordered, that no prelate or ecclesiastical judge within the city, should hold plea of usury or of any other crime or cause, except what were matrimonial or testamentary, and that they should have no cognizance of intestates' goods, which they directed to be paid

into the exchequer; and further prescribed that no citizen, even in causes ecclesiastical, should be obliged to appear in judgment out of the limits of the city. These arbitrary measures were highly resented by the archbishop, who, finding all admonitions ineffective by his ordinary authority, promulgated the sentence of excommunication against the offenders, and put the city under an interdict; a course for the maintenance of the privileges of the Church, which was approved by Cardinal Octobon, then legate in London, and who sent his mandate, dated on the 28th of February in the same year, to the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, directing them solemnly to denounce with bells tolling, and candles lighted, the said mayor and citizens as excommunicated, in all public places within the city and province of Dublin. At length, in the summer following, Sir Robert de Ufford, Lord Justice, and the Privy Council interposed in these quarrels, and a composition was made between the archbishop and the citizens; the terms of which, as they appear on record, were, that if any citizen committed a public sin, he should for the first offence pay a fine, if he sinned so a second time, and that the crime was enormous and public, then he should be beaten round the church; if he offended a third time, he should be solemnly and publicly beaten before the processions made to Christ Church or St. Patrick's, and if, after this penance, he should persist in his sin, the officer of the archbishop might give notice of it to the mayor and bailiffs, who were enjoined to either expel him

from the city, or beat him through it. It was further agreed, that a general inquisition should be made once in every year through the metropolis, in relation to all public sins; and that, if great necessity existed for so doing, such an inquisition should be held twice or three times in one year, but on no account oftener. Provided always, that no citizen should be drawn out of "the deanery of said city," by any officials of the archbishop, but should answer within it to all just complaints before his ordinaries.

About the same time, this prelate erected the church of Killuskey, near the town of Wicklow, into a prebend, and annexed it to the archdeaconry of Glendalough for ever; by right of which, Hugh de Chaddestone, at that time Archdeacon, became entitled to a stall in the choir, a voice in the chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral,* and to all the other privileges of a canon. This prelate also purchased thirty acres of land, near Tipperkevin, from William Syreburn, and annexed them to his see, for the profits whereof, John de Saundford, Escheator of Ireland, and afterwards, himself, Archbishop of Dublin, passed his accounts in the exchequer, after the death of Fulk, and during the vacancy of the see.

On the 25th of July, 1270, Prince Edward, to whom his royal father had some years previously given the sovereignty of all that part of Ireland, which was then subjected to English dominion; directed his mandate to his Lord Deputy, and officers

* Allen's Registry.

of justice in Ireland; grounded on information, that some miscreants, doubtless, some of those incorrigible felons, whom ecclesiastical censures did but exasperate to more mortal offences, had attempted the life of de Saundford and of his officers, and the prince thereby commanded, that whatever powers the prelate might require for the exercise of his ecclesiastical authority, should be fully granted and assured to him, while he at the same time directed all justices and other officers, to repress any invasions or attempts against the liberties of the Church.

On the 6th of May, 1271, Archbishop Fulk died in his manor of Finglas ; whereupon his body was conveyed to St. Patrick's Church, and there deposited in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Immediately on his decease, King Henry the Third granted to Prince Edward all the issues and profits of the archbishopric, in aid of his expenses to the Holy Land; saving, however, knights' fees, wardships, reliefs, escheats, and advowsons of all ecclesiastical promotions; and he sent a writ to the Escheator of Ireland, dated the thirteenth of June in that year, reciting the above grant, and commanding him not to interfere in the receipt thereof, but to consign that portion of the revenues to the lawful attorneys of Prince Edward, and, if he had theretofore collected any of such funds, to pay over same to the said persons. The king, however, at the same time, granted a licence for the election of a successor to Fulk; and on the twenty-ninth of the ensuing

July, William de la Corner, the Pope's chaplain, and the king's counsellor, who, in some years afterwards, was promoted to the see of Salisbury, was elected to this dignity by the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity; but on the same day, the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's made choice of Fromund le Brun, the Pope's chaplain, and then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in consequence of which difference of nomination, a tedious controversy ensued between the respective electors, which did not terminate until 1279, when the Pope annulled both appointments.

In 1272, within two months after his accession to the throne, Edward the First committed the custody of the temporalities of this see to Thomas Chedworth, and authorized him to farm and improve them to the king's best advantage, also directing his Chief Justice of Ireland to dispose of the revenues of wardships, and to present to vacant churches, as in the right of the crown. In 1273, another recognition of Robert, the before-mentioned coadjutor "Bishop of Dublin," occurs in a close roll, in which the king, at the instance of his sister, the Queen of Scotland, granted to Robert, "Bishop of Dublin," residing in Scotland, that Robert de Robery (whom the bishop had constituted to act as his deputy), might, in the name of the bishop, make attorneys to appear for him in all his courts, before any justices and barons of the exchequer, and in counties, hundreds, and other the king's courts, for him or against him for seven years, and be exempted from all amerciaments, as for not appearing personally therein. In

1275 the king issued a mandate for the better management and cultivation of the lands belonging to this see; and in the following year the above-mentioned Chedworth had an order from the Exchequer, for payment to him of a pension of forty marks per annum, out of the revenues of this see, during the time he had the custody thereof. At this latter period a contest arose, between the king and the prior and chapter of the Holy Trinity, as to the right of appointing the Archdeacon of Dublin during the vacancy of the see;* and the difference appears to have continued, until the elevation of John de Derlington to the dignity, after a vacancy of seven years, removed the subject matter of the contest.

JOHN DE DERLINGTON.

[Succ. 1279. Ob. 1284.]

The Pope having, as before mentioned, annulled both the elections in 1271 of William de la Corner by the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, and of Fromund le Brun by the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, a tedious and expensive suit was instituted, until, at last, the pontiff declared John de Derlington the due and lawful archbishop. He was so styled from Derlington, in the diocese of Durham, the place of his birth; was a doctor of divinity, a Dominican friar, confessor to the late King Henry the Third, and had been his ambassador to Pope Nicholas

* Rot in Turr. Lond.

the Third in 1278.* He was, accordingly, consecrated in Waltham abbey on the 8th of September, 1279, by John Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicholas Bishop of Winchester, Robert Bishop of Bath and Wells, and William Bishop of Norwich; and his writ of restitution to his temporalities is dated on the following 28th of April. Matthew Paris describes him as a prelate of great authority for his learning and wisdom; but Bale is so unfavourable to him, that he calls him a "mercenary hireling, and not a shepherd; that he went to his archbishopric not to feed, but to milk and shear his sheep; and that he died, "divinâ tactus ultione," blasted by divine vengeance. It is certain he was collector of the Peterpence, both in England and Ireland, to the Popes, John the Twenty-first, Nicholas the Third, and Martin the Fourth, which was, probably, ground sufficient to induce Bale to deny him any merit whatsoever. The story of his life is, however, so imperfectly recorded, that it leaves scarcely more to rely upon than the certainty of his death—an event which carried him off, by sudden visitation, in London, on the 29th of March, 1284, in the fifth year after his consecration, in a Dominican convent of which city he was buried. He has given to the world "Concordantiæ magnæ Anglicanæ," "Sermones ad utrumque statum," and "Disceptationes Scholasticæ."

* Bullar. Ord. Prædic. T. i. p. 557.

JOHN DE SAUNDFORD.

[Succ. 1284. Ob. 1294.]

On the 5th of May after Archbishop Derlington's death, the King granted his conge d'elire, on the petition of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, presented by John de Saundford, whom the record calls "con-canonicus noster," our fellow canon, and on whom the choice of the electors fell. He was a native of England, brother of the former prelate of that name, dean of St. Patrick's, a Franciscan friar, and, for a time, escheator of Ireland. Being canonically elected, he was confirmed by the king on the 20th of July, 1284, and, on the 6th of August following, had his writ for restitution to the temporalities, having first, with some difficulty, obtained the Pope's confirmation, who, at first, raised some objections to the appointment; but, on de Saundford resigning his right to the absolute discretion of the pontiff, Honorius promoted him to, or rather confirmed him in, the dignity, recommending him, by a Bull of 1285, to the King's favour, which had, in truth, been previously evinced. All interests thus concurring, he was consecrated in the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, on Palm Sunday, 1286.

In his early life he had come into Ireland, it would appear, as vicar-general of his brother Fulk de Saundford, and was presented by the Baroness of Naas to the rectory of Maynooth.* In 1266 he was en-

* Crede mihi.

trusted with the absolute management of his brother's affairs, and, in some records, is expressly denominated his vicar-general. In 1268 he was one of the mediators and witnesses of the final concord between that prelate and the citizens of Dublin, and, in the following year, was the arbitrator of a dispute existing with the Prior of Kilmainham relative to the archbishop's visitatorial power. In 1272 he was appointed escheator of Ireland, and, in 1274, was joined in commission with the Lord Justice and the Bishop of Meath to administer the oath of allegiance, and receive the fealty of all archbishops, bishops, abbots, clergy, nobles, and others the king's subjects of Ireland. In 1279 he was a Justice of the King's Bench, and, in 1282, was specially selected by the king to raise money, by loan, from the clergy and laity, to be employed in the necessities of the state, on account of the insurrection of the Welch.* In 1283 he had a grant of "wastes" lying in Connaught, at the annual rent of £34, and doing service and suit at the court of Roscommon; nor was his influence with royalty diminished on his appointment to this see. In 1288, after the death of Stephen de Fulburn, he was constituted Lord Justice of Ireland, with an allowance of £500 per annum for the support of his government; and, on the 7th of March, 1289, the king granted to him and his successors the right of free warren in all his demesne lands of the mountains of the county of Dublin; so that none should enter thereon to chase or hunt without the archiepiscopal licence, under a penalty of £10 for each offence.

* Rymer's Fœdera.

In 1291 Pope Nicholas having commanded, that a tenth of all ecclesiastical rents, profits, and oblations in Ireland, according to their true value, should be paid to the King of England, towards the expenses of a meditated crusade, this prelate was of those named to oversee the collection; and, "because," adds the document, "there are various valuations of these revenues in that country, we impose it on your consciences, that, on due consultation in the places to be taxed, you study to assess the true and honest value thereof;"* such a valuation was, accordingly, made in the course of three years, and is yet extant,—that of this see is entitled, "Nova taxatio Diocesis Dubliniensis;" and in it very great alterations were made from the former, some being increased, others lessened, and some wholly omitted, according to the new circumstances of the times. This estimate is, in a legal point of view, the more important, because all the taxes, as well to the successive kings as to the popes, were regulated by it down to the 20th year of the reign of Henry VIII.

About the year 1293, Archbishop John was sent with Anthony, Bishop of Durham, on an embassy to the emperor, to treat with him concerning the restitution of Bourdeaux and the adjacent country of Gascony, which had been taken possession of by the King of France sometime previously. Having successfully acquitted himself in this negotiation, he returned into England, but was immediately afterwards

* Rymer's Fœdera ad ann.

(in October, 1294,) "seized with a grievous disorder," says Matthew of Westminster, "and went the way of all flesh." Prynne alleges that he died in returning from the King of Arragon, to whom he had been sent to negotiate some affairs connected with the interest of England. His body was, on the petition of the canons of St. Patrick's, conveyed into Ireland, and on the 20th of February after his death, buried in his brother's monument in their church. The letter written by the canons upon this occasion, beseeching to give him the possession of a burying place amongst them, is yet preserved in the Cotton library. He was a prelate in great reputation for learning, wisdom, and discretion, as the few particulars which are detailed of his life sufficiently establish.

On his death, the chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's assembled at the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and chose Adam de Furneis, a canon of the Holy Trinity, and vicar of Kilcullen, official of the diocese during the vacancy of the see, the custody of the temporalities of which the king, by writ* bearing date the 20th of October, in the year 1295, granted to Richard de Abingdon during pleasure, but reserved the profits to be accounted for in the exchequer; and on the 20th of December following, he gave licence to the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, and to the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, to proceed to the election of a new archbishop. They

* Rot. Pat. 22 Edw. I.

had, however, before the licence issued, irregularly elected Thomas de Chadsworth, who was also Dean of St. Patrick's to this dignity; on information of which, they were obliged to sue out a new *conge d'elire*, dated 24th of March in the same year (old style), by virtue whereof, they unanimously re-elected Chadsworth, and submitted such their nomination to the king, on the 28th of April, 1296, who, thereupon, gave his royal assent, and certified the same to Rome. The Pope, however, vacated the election, and appointed William de Hothum thereto.

Immediately previous to this determination of the pontiff, the Dean of St. Patrick's, together with the Prior of the Holy Trinity, preferred a complaint to his holiness of encroachments made by Richard de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, on their right to exercise the jurisdiction of the archbishop during the vacancy of the see; whereupon Boniface referred the matter to the Prior of All Saints, Dublin, who was authorized to inquire into the ground of complaint, and to see justice done. The see being filled, however, the controversy was necessarily terminated.

WILLIAM DE HOTHUM.

[Succ. 1297. Ob. 1298.]

The Pope, having so vacated the election of Thomas de Chadsworth, on the 16th of June, 1297, by provision confirmed the aforesaid William de Hothum in the archbishopric; and, accordingly, on the

8th of December, 1297, the king issued his writ* reciting the election of Chadsworth, its cassation by the Pope, and the appointment of de Hothum; and, thereupon, acquainted the canons of the free chapel of Penkeriz (before mentioned in 1216), that he had restored Hothum to the temporalities, commanding them to obey him as their archbishop. Edward also sent a writ† to Richard de Abingdon, custodee of the temporalities, directing him to give this prelate the preference of pre-emption of the ploughs, cattle, and stock upon the lands of the see, and another writ‡ to the justices, escheators, and sheriffs, requiring them to suffer him to enjoy all the liberties and privileges which any of his predecessors had enjoyed. The business of his life, however, appears to have been little associated with the privileges or interests of his province.

He was born in England,§ but educated at Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1280, afterwards became a Dominican friar, and was twice provincial of that order in England; on one occasion as ambassador at Rome from King Edward the First to Pope Boniface the Eighth, he executed the trust with great applause, being inferior to none for learning, virtue, gravity, integrity, and judgment in the management of affairs. The Pope gave him a dispensation, not unfrequent at the period, to be consecrated by any bishop whom he should select;

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* Rot. Pat. 25 Edw. I. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

§ See De Burgo Hib. Dom.

Pits and others, however, maintain that he was consecrated at Rome in 1298, by the Pope himself, and that he died on his return; but Harris considers Walsingham more correct in asserting, that he was consecrated in that year at Ghent in Flanders, by Anthony Beak, Bishop of Durham, and with them agree the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey. Immediately after his consecration, he was recognised as the active organ of reconciliation between Philip the Fourth of France and Edward the First of England, and ultimately, by his discretion and tact, effected a truce between these monarchs, which continued for two years. He, thereupon, returned to Rome, with the articles of the treaty, which the Pope established; and it was on his journey homewards from this mission through Burgundy, that he fell ill at Dijon, where he died in a monastery of his order, on the 27th of August in the same year. His body was conveyed into England, and buried in a Dominican monastery in London.

Bale, although he asperses his character and that of the Pope who promoted him, on the suggestion that he attained his honour by the mediation of gold, yet allows, that he was "a man highly extolled by the writers of his own order, as a person of a great spirit, acute parts, and one who had a singular dexterity in conciliating to himself the favour of men," a trait which must have induced his frequent engagements in state negotiations. He is, also, spoken of in high terms of praise by Laurence Pignorius, Sebastian de Olmedo, Fernandez, Fontana, Sincler, Possevin, &c. Ware adds, that he was the author of

some works of divinity, and of a French oration on the king's right to Scotland.

On the 24th of September after his decease, a writ issued to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to seize the temporalities of the see, and to commit the custody thereof to some faithful person, for whose conduct they would be responsible. On the 21st of January following, Adam de Balsham, Prior of Christ Church, was chosen Archbishop by that convent, while the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's selected their before-mentioned dean, Thomas de Chadsworth, then one of the Justices of the King's Bench; but neither of these elections was approved of by the king; and, having been made without his previous licence, each of these ecclesiastical bodies was attached for the contempt. The Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's shewed what was deemed sufficient cause for pardon; but the temporalities of the prior were estreated and granted to John, Vicar of Lusk.* A lapse having occurred, by reason of this contest, the Pope asserted a title to provide for the dignity, and, accordingly, nominated Richard de Ferings, who had been in 1281, and during the fifteen previous years, Archdeacon of Canterbury,† and who, upon this nomination, was consecrated about the middle of the year, 1299.

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* Vide Riley's Plac. Parl. p. 296.

† There are extant, in the Cotton Library, letters of jurisdiction between him and the Prior of Canterbury, settled while he was archdeacon there.

RICHARD DE FERINGS.

[Succ. 1299. Ob. 1306.]

This prelate, immediately after his consecration, appears to have made that conveyance of Church lands, alluded to by Carte in the introduction to his Life of Ormond, whereby, with the consent of the Chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, he granted to Theobald Fitz Walter Butler of Ireland, and to his heirs, the lands of Inchmeholmoc, Kilpoch, and fifteen other townlands, with the churches, chapels, advowsons, and all liberties thereto belonging, yielding to the archbishop and his successors two marks of silver yearly; to the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, two pounds of wax at Easter; and to the church of St. Patrick two pounds more in lieu of all services and demands. He, nevertheless, encountered some difficulty in obtaining restitution of his temporalities, as, when he presented the Pope's provisional letters to the king, they were considered to contain clauses prejudicial to the royal prerogative. He removed the ground of objection, however, by an express renunciation of any benefit therefrom, and a public declaration that it never was his intention to sue forth, do, or prosecute anything that could operate to the prejudice of the crown, or in any manner tend thereto. This renunciation, dated 30th May, 1300, is of record in the Tower of London. The king, thereupon, took his fealty, and, on the following day, issued his writ of restitution, and, at the same time, another writ to the canons of the free

chapel of Penkeriz (of which, as before-mentioned, the Archbishops of Dublin were deans), in similar terms with that issued in favour of de Hothum, in 1297.

Immediately afterwards this prelate applied himself to effect a right understanding between his two cathedral churches, and succeeded in establishing what the White Book of Christ Church calls "a final and full concord and amicable agreement of their various controversies and wrangles," which was reduced into writing, and strengthened by the common seal of each chapter, with a penalty annexed. The heads of the agreement are to be found in Archbishop Allen's Registry, of which the principal were, "That the Archbishops of Dublin should be consecrated and enthroned in Christ Church—That both churches should be called cathedral and metropolitan—That Christ Church, as being the greater, the mother, and the elder church, should have the precedence in all rights and concerns of the see, and that the cross, mitre, and ring of every archbishop, in whatever place he died, should be deposited therein; and lastly, that each church should have the alternate right of sepulture of the bodies of their archbishops, unless otherwise directed by their several wills; and these articles were, accordingly, agreed to in the year 1300. After thus composing, as he thought, the jealousies that had existed between his cathedrals, the archbishop resided for the most part abroad, having constituted Thomas de Chadsworth, whose election to the see the Pope had before twice annulled, his vicar-general.

In 1302 a writ* issued to the Lord Justice of Ireland, directing that the archbishop's bailiffs should have liberty to transmit money to him to England for his support—they giving security not to send it elsewhere, *non obstante* any former writ prohibiting the exportation of money from Ireland, by means whereof the remitting of the archbishop's money had theretofore been retarded. In the same year Edmund Butler recovered from de Ferings the manor of Hollywood in Fingal with the appurtenances, as mentioned in the "History of the County of Dublin." There is a record extant in the rolls of parliament, concerning a journey undertaken in the same year by this prelate to Canterbury; but it contains little more than an account of a broil between his attendants and those of the Bishop of Ely. In 1303 (28th of January,) he was summoned to appear in person at the parliament, which should be holden in England next after the date of the writ; and in the same year he constituted the churches of Stagonil and Tipperkevin prebends of St. Patrick's cathedral.

In 1304 he renewed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, and particularly the exemption of their prebendal churches, and the churches of the Economy, from visitations of the archdeacon or dean; and in 1306 a third valuation having been made of the dignities and benefices of Ireland, with the object of assessing them to the Pope's taxation of one-tenth,

* Rot. Claus. 30 Edw. I.

similar variations occurred in the assessment, as noticed in that of 1291; and express entries are made of benefices as being of no value, where wars had left them waste and unprofitable. The estimates of the full values of the respective dignities and benefices of this diocese were as follow:—

The archbishopric, 700 marks.
Prebend of Cullen, £40.
Deanery, 100 marks.
Precentorship, 40 marks.
Treasurership, £40.
Chancellorship, £40.
Archdeaconry of Dublin, £40.
Prebend of Swords, £40.
Vicarage of Swords, 100 shillings.
Prebend of James of Spain in Lusk, 50 marks.
Prebend of Richard de Wyndon in Lusk, 50 marks.
The two Vicarages of Lusk, 40 marks.
Prebend of Clonmethan, 20 marks.
Prebend of Howth, £23 8*s.* 8*d.*
Prebend of J. Palke in Castleknock, 20 marks.
Prebend of John de Dene in Castleknock, 20 marks.
Vicarage of Castleknock, 10 marks.
Prebend of Rathmichael, 20 marks.
Prebend of Newcastle, £20.
Prebend of Saggard, £10.
Prebend of Maynooth, £20.
Portion of the vicarage, 10 marks.
Prebend of Yagoestown, 10 marks.
Prebend of Dunlavin, £20.
Prebend of Monmohenock, 10 marks.
Prebend of Timothan, £10.
Prebend of Tipper, £10.
Prebend of Tipperkevin, £10.
Vicarage of Tallagh, 5 marks.
Vicarage of St. Kevin, 5 marks.
Prebend of Stagonyl,—waste by war.
Archdeaconry of Glendalough, 10 marks.
Prebend of Alderg, 114 shillings.
Churches of
St. Kevin, £10.
Crumlin, £10.
Castleknock, 20 marks.
Killnasantan,—waste by war.
Tallagh, 40 shillings.
Kilbride, 40 shillings.
Brenockstown, 60 shillings.

Moonderton and Ardscul, £20.
Rathsallagh, 100 shillings.
Villa Fraxini,—waste by war.
Donaghmore in Imail,—waste by war.
Tyrnemach, 20 shillings.
Rents of the city of Dublin, £18 5*s.* 9*d.*
Selyock, 10 shillings.
Altarages of St. Nicholas in St. Patrick's, 100 shillings.
St. Michael's church, £6.
St. John's, 100 shillings.
St. Michan's, £4.
Grange-Gorman lands, £24.
Glasnevin lands, £24.
Clonkene lands, £14 13*s.* 4*d.*
Tullagh land, £6.
Church and chapel of Clonkene, £18 3*s.* 4*d.*
Ballscaddan church, £10.
Rents there, £28.
Kilcullen church, £39 13*s.* 4*d.*

The subject of this memoir, nevertheless, appears to have afforded to the affairs of his province but little of that sanction and authority, which the presence of a resident prelate must necessarily enforce. He at length became sensible of this dereliction of duty, and was actually on his return from Rome with the object of retrieving the injury, when he was affected by a sudden illness, of which he died on the 18th of October, in the year 1306.

On the 26th of November following, a licence issued to the two chapters for electing a new archbishop; and, notwithstanding the composition mentioned before as made by de Ferings between his cathedrals, the new election revived the contest, and in January following, Nicholas Butler, brother of Edmund Butler, who was afterwards Earl of Carrick, was elected to the vacant dignity by the prior and convent of Christ Church, while the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's made choice of Richard de

Havering, their precentor,* who was further strengthened by the Pope's provision, the original Bull for which yet remains among the archives of Christ Church; while, singular to relate, in the same repository is an original Bull of provision from the same Pope (Clement the Fifth), dated at Poictiers, the 26th of June, in the second year of his pontificate, in favour of the rival candidate, Nicholas Butler, and which recites the controverted elections. Havering, however, under colour of his election and provision, enjoyed for four years the profits of the see without consecration; and in 1309 had writ of summons to a parliament to be held at Westminster, on the second Sunday in Lent, as Bishop elect of Dublin, by which title he was also styled by King Edward the Second, in a letter to Philip, King of France, dated the 19th of June, 1309, and in the royal charter of the following year, confirming to this prelate all the liberties and free customs appertaining to the see, he is named "Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, elect and confirmed." In the same year John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, was ordered to arrest the Templars and imprison them in the Castle of Dublin, to be forthcoming to answer the Archbishop elect of Dublin or his vicar, and the other inquisitors, in such matters as might be there objected to them; the archbishop receiving an authority to that effect in similar terms, both which last documents are recorded in the Tower of London. In 1310 he erected the church of Alderg into a prebend, but at the close of that year, under

* Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. p. 208.

the influence of a dream, as it was reported, he voluntarily resigned his see, upon which the king, by writ* of 6th January 1310, directed his justiciary to take charge of the temporalities, immediately after which, according to the Annals published by Camden, Alexander de Bicknor was on St. Patrick's day, 1310, elected archbishop by the unanimous voice of both chapters; but, notwithstanding this election, John Lech, chaplain and almoner to King Edward the Second, succeeded by the favour of that prince.

JOHN LECH,

[Succ. 1310. Ob. 1313.]

John Lech, the successor of Havering, had been previously, in the year 1309, elected to the bishopric of Dunkeld, in Scotland, of which church he was a canon; and, on the 28th of August in that year, was earnestly recommended to the pope for his confirmation, by the king, who was indeed so earnest in his behalf, as to write likewise to six of the cardinals for their interest with his holiness on this occasion, and to the auditor and advocate of the court of Rome. On the 14th of December following, Edward appointed him his proctor, to take into his custody all the books, vestments, plates, and other ornaments of the chapel of Matthew, late Bishop of Dunkeld, which fell to him on the death of the said Matthew, according to the custom of Scotland. This appears to have been the first assumption, as of supremacy,

* Rymer's Fœdera.

after the conquest of Scotland by King Edward the First; and it was met by a counter-election of William Sinclair to that see, by the loyal Scots, in the allegiance of Bruce. This appointment was for* a time violently opposed by King Edward, but at length, by the perseverance of Sir Henry Sinclair, Laird of Roslin, and brother of William, the English monarch was induced to write to the Pope, in favour of the elect bishop, on the 8th of February, 1312, having previously obtained the Pope's ratification and appointment of Lech to this better preferment, as appears by the royal letter of thanks dated on the 5th of April, 1311. On this advancement of Lech, whom Edward, in his letter, calls Bishop elect of Dunkeld, the royal mandate, bearing date the 20th of July in the same year, issued to Richard de Havering, who, after his resignation, had been made custodee of the temporalities during the vacancy, to hand them over to the new prelate, who had, according to custom, renounced all prejudicial clauses in the Pope's provision, and submitted himself entirely to his favour; while, at the same time, a further writ for restitution of his temporalities was directed to John Wogan, then Lord Justice of Ireland. In the same year, and last mentioned month, (July,) on the application of this prelate, Pope Clement the Fifth issued his bull for founding a University for scholars in Dublin, but this design, so creditable to the memory of Lech, was not destined to be then effectuated, the attention of its originator

*Rymer's Fœdera.

having been unhappily diverted by the unbecoming controversy concerning the primacy, which had rested since 1261, but was revived by him. Walter Jorse, then Archbishop of Armagh, thereupon petitioned the king, and had the usual permission to appear in parliament by his attorneys for the trial of the question. Accordingly, in a parliament held at Kilkenny before the Lord Justice Wogan, these prelates warmly urged their respective claims; Jorse, however, in the November following, withdrew any further opposition on his part, and, although it was sought to be renewed by Jorse's brother and successor, Roland Jorse, in the remarkable manner mentioned in the "History of the County of Dublin" at "Howth;" yet, on the utter failure of his attempt at that time, he likewise desisted from asserting the claim.

At the close of the year 1312, Archbishop Lech was constituted Lord Treasurer of Ireland, soon after which, on the 10th of August, 1313, he died, but neither of his cathedrals, notwithstanding the previous arrangement, was destined to receive the body of the prelate, which was interred at Westminster, in the middle of the chancel of the abbey. Immediately on his decease, the prebend of Cullen was ordered to be sequestered on account of certain sums due by him to the Pope, and which William Lech, his treasurer, had neglected to pay;* while, on the 29th of October following, the king issued a writ to the sheriff of York, to seize all the goods and

* Orig. Archiv. Cath. St. Trin.

chattels of the said prelate, which were within his bailiwick on the day of his death, for divers debts due to the crown.

In Ireland, in the mean time, the usual contest ensued between the cathedrals for the appointment of his successor, one party nominating Walter Thornbury, then chantor of St. Patrick's, and Chancellor of Ireland, while the other declared for Alexander de Bicknor, the descendant of an English family very distinguished in the time of Edward the First, and himself then Prebendary of Maynooth and Treasurer of Ireland; Walter, soon after his election, took shipping for France, where the Pope then held his court; but, on the night of his departure, a storm arose, and he and 156 other passengers were all cast away; whereupon, as if heaven had promulgated its judgment, de Bicknor's election was no longer opposed.

ALEXANDER DE BICKNOR.

[Suc. 1317. Ob. 1349.]

Alexander de Bicknor having been, as before mentioned, elected, and thus far established in his high situation, by the death of Walter Thornbury, took a journey to Lyons with the king's letters, dated the 29th of January, 1314,* earnestly recommending him to the Pope as "a man of profound judgment, high morality, deep learning, strict integrity, and

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. ii. p. 241.

withal the greatest circumspection in spiritual and temporal affairs." His confirmation was, nevertheless, postponed, in consequence of his sovereign requiring his personal services. Accordingly, on the 27th of May in the same year, Edward the Second joined him in a commission with Raymund Subirani and Andrew Sapiti, to transact some secret affairs of consequence, in relation to his foreign dominions, with the cardinals attending the Pope at Avignon, to twenty-four of whom he wrote special letters upon this occasion. At last Pope John the Twenty-first confirmed his appointment to this see, "upon the score of his great learning and conspicuous birth," and he was afterwards consecrated at Avignon, although not until the 22nd of July, 1317, by Nicholas de Prato, Cardinal of Ostium. The Bulls of his confirmation were read and published in Christ Church, Dublin, (where they are still preserved), on the following feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; immediately previous to which, the guardian of the spiritualities of this see had letters of credence from the king, and a request of aid towards the war against Bruce and the Scots.

In the first year of his appointment, King Edward granted to this prelate the liberty of acquiring lands, tenements, advowsons, &c. in Ireland, to the value of £200 yearly, excepting such as were held in fee of the crown, to hold to him and his successors for ever; and in the same year Pope John the Twenty-second wrote to him, as also to the Archbishop of Cashel, and Dean of Dublin, to excommunicate Robert Bruce

and his followers, and likewise Edward his brother, if they did not render satisfaction and make restitution for the ravages, murders, robberies, and burnings of churches committed throughout the kingdom by their adherents.* The pontiff then also issued his mandate to the same individuals, to proceed by inquisition against the order of mendicants, and all who had presumed to alienate the affections of the people of Ireland from their true prince, King Edward, or who should, by open preaching or private cabals, dispute the right of the crown of England over the subjects of that kingdom.† Yet, even this important accession of authority did not induce de Bicknor to visit his see, nor did he take upon him its actual government until that of the whole island was superadded. He arrived as Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Justice of Ireland on the 9th of October, 1318, and was received both by the clergy and people with great acclamations of joy. On the 10th of November following, he was summoned with the prelates and nobles to attend a parliament at Lincoln, "but," say the Lords' committee on the Peerage, "on what ground the writ to the Archbishop of Dublin was issued, the committee have not discovered."‡ It might, possibly, have been in right of the manor of Penkeriz in England, before mentioned as conferred upon de Loundres and his successors. In the same year he had a very full confirmation of the lands of the see as in the grant enumerated;§ in 1318 was

* Rymer's Fœdera. † Ib. ‡ First Report, p. 276.
§ Rot. in Turr. Lond.

twice re-summoned to a parliament at Lincoln, and, on the 8th of June in the same year, received the royal intimation that the parliament, so summoned and prorogued, was revoked in consequence of the invasion of the Scots. In two days afterwards he was present in the green chamber in the palace of Westminster, when the great seal was surrendered by the Bishop of Winchester; and on the 9th of August in the same year, assented on the part of the king to the treaty with the Earl of Lancaster, imposing restrictions on the royal authority, and joined in guaranteeing the same.*

In 1320 he founded a university in St. Patrick's church, Dublin, which was confirmed by the authority of Pope John the Twenty-second, and public lectures were established, but, in the deficiency of the endowment, this project again failed to be effective. His rules for the government of this infant seminary may be seen in Ware's Antiquities, p. 243. The professors of theology elected on its institution were two Dominican friars and one Franciscan.† Two years afterwards he constituted the church of Inisboyne a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral, and in the same year the Pope imposed upon the clergy of Ireland, an assessment of two years' tenths on all ecclesiastical benefices for the use of the king. In 1323 Archbishop de Bicknor was sent ambassador to France by the parliament of England, together with Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, King Edward the Second's

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* Parl^{y}. Writs. † De Burgo Hib. Dom. p. 85.

younger brother,* but his negotiations were on this occasion unsuccessful; nevertheless, in the following year he was again joined in commission with the before-mentioned Earl of Kent, and William Weston, doctor of laws, to reform the state and government of the Duchy of Aquitain, and also to treat of a marriage between the king's eldest son, Edward, (afterwards King Edward the Third,) and the daughter of the King of Arragon.† On this occasion, having made communications to the Pope relative to the minor sees of Ireland, his holiness directed that such small Irish bishoprics, as did not exceed in annual value £20, £40, or £60 sterling, and which were governed by natives, who by themselves and their relatives were exciting discord in said land, should be united to the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees of well known cities, an arrangement which the king confirmed.‡ In the ensuing year, however, de Bicknor fell greatly under the king's displeasure for being instrumental in causing the surrender of the town and castle of La Royalle in Aquitain to its French besiegers, when it was considered it might have been defended, and for falsely charging the king's chamberlain, Hugh Despenser, with treason. Of these offences the king by letter, dated the 28th of May, 1325, made a heavy complaint to the Pope, entreating his holiness to banish this prelate from his kingdom and dominions, and to have another appointed

* Walsingham Hypodig. Neustriæ.

† Rymer Fœd. vol. ii. p. 573. ‡ Id. 554.

to his situation; while he adds, what was perhaps the real origin of the royal displeasure, that the archbishop had mismanaged the crown revenues in Ireland, was greatly in arrear, and had likewise so encumbered the property of the church that it could never rise again.*

In 1326 he appears amongst the prelates and barons of England, who met at Bristol on the occasion of the king's son being appointed guardian of the realm, which his father had abandoned in company with Hugh le Despenser the younger and other enemies of the State.† In the following year, the profits of this see were in the king's hands, and a writ issued to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer, authorizing disbursements out of its revenues in order to maintain the war against the rebels; probably this was in satisfaction for the arrears alleged to be due by de Bicknor during his treasurership; while a petition of the prelate, preserved in the Rolls of Parliament, suggests that these arrears were not incurred in such a wasteful or discreditable manner as his enemies would insinuate. A tax it appears had been imposed on the benefices of Ireland in the time of Edward the Second, according to an ancient valuation, and this archbishop was appointed to collect and be accountable for it. He pleaded, however, that by wars and otherwise these benefices were not of the profit formerly set down, and wished to pass his accounts according to the true values. He was

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 600. † Ib. p. 646.

kept, however, to the old estimates, and his revenues were sequestered for their proportionate discharge. The Pope gave a marked recognition of the justice of the archbishop's accounts, by appointing him collector in 1330 of the pontifical tax, but at the same time instructing him to exempt therefrom all small benefices, not exceeding the value of six marks yearly.

About the same period, Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, having prosecuted some persons who were accused of heresy, they rose against him and kept him in confinement during seventeen days, until, in consequence, obliged to fly his diocese, they took shelter in that of de Bicknor, who, it would appear, protected them from further prosecution. Ledred would thereupon have appealed to Rome, but found considerable difficulty even in getting out of Ireland, in consequence of the steps taken by de Bicknor to prevent him. He did, however, ultimately pass into France, where it would seem he was detained by the power of King Edward. In this exile he was forced to remain nine years, and the profits and jurisdiction of his see were seized by this archbishop, until the Pope was obliged, as hereafter mentioned, to suspend his metropolitical power over Ledred's diocese, an interdict which continued until the death of de Bicknor.* In 1331 occurred the devastation and plunder of his lands at Tallagh, as more appropriately mentioned at that locality in the "History of the County of Dublin." In the close of the same year, the king

* Wadding's Annals, vol. viii. p. 419.

wrote in his favour to the Pope, seeking to induce his Holiness to discredit the assertions of Ledred in reference to the dispute between them. In the following year de Bicknor annexed the church of Wicklow and its two appendant chapels, with the consent of its patrons, to the deanery of Glendalough. On the 8th of May, 1335, the king directed a mandate to him and others of Ireland, to accelerate a subsidy and muster in aid of the war against the Scotch ;* and in the same year this prelate held a visitation in the diocese of Ossory, which, as Clyn says in his Annals, no metropolitan had visited for forty years before. His motive on this occasion has been already explained, and the consequent withdrawal of the see from metropolitan authority by the Pope. In 1336 he had a royal licence to acquire lands, &c. for the see to the value of £200, in similar terms to that granted to him in 1317.

In 1337 Sir John Charleton, Lord Justice, held a parliament in St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, on which occasion the Archbishop of Armagh, having been summoned, made preparation for his attendance, and insisted on carrying his crosier erect before him, but was prevented from so appearing by this prelate and his clergy, although the king had directed his mandate prohibiting any such opposition, and had specially ordered the sheriffs and other ministerial officers to avert it.† The prelate of Armagh, thereupon, caused the bull of Pope Urban, mentioned at 1261, to be exemplified under the great seal of Ireland in

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 905. † Ib. p. 1008.

the November of the same year, but it does not appear that he took any further steps in prosecution of the business. In the same year de Bicknor was authorized by a royal commission to transact certain arduous affairs in and about Mullingar, as well with the Bishop of Meath as other noblemen, the faithful subjects of the county of Meath, to inquire concerning all traitors and their abettors, to establish peace there in the best mode attainable, and for that purpose to array a militia from amongst the inhabitants, and to punish those impeding the discharge of such duties.*

In July, 1339, he received the royal orders to repair his fortifications at Castlekevin, and was required to appear forthwith before the king's council in England, to give information on the state of affairs in Ireland. In 1347 he obtained a formal pardon from the crown, in reference to his collection of the tax before alluded to, or in the harsh, and it would seem unjustifiable language of the licence, "for sundry false writs and acquittances, which he had put into his treasurer's accounts in deceit of the king,"† and in 1348 the king wrote in his favour to Cardinal Audomar, relative to his right to be exempted from any subjection to Armagh.‡ In the latter year, this prelate presided at a synod held in Dublin, the acts of which are preserved in the second volume of Wilkins's *Concilia* (ad ann.) They enforced the payment of tithes to mother church; prohibited the ab-

* Rot. Turr. Berming. † Rot. in Turr. Lond. ‡ Rymer.

straction or injury of ecclesiastical property; the interference of the regular clergy in parochial duties; reserved absolution in cases of conspiracy, perjury, false-witness bearing, and homicide to the suffragan alone; regulated the proceedings in ecclesiastical suits; prohibited beneficed clergy from being the bailiffs or seneschals of laymen, and rural deans from entertaining suits matrimonial; directed that the offerings at dependant chapels should be contributed to the mother church; that monks should not be executors except under prescribed regulations; that the property of testators or intestates should be fairly distributed; exhorted all to loyalty and peace; enforced clerical morality and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; interdicted the farming of any spiritual preferment, or the denial of the rights of the Church by reason of debts due to it; enforced the observance of the festivals of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Canice, St. Lazarian, St. Edan, St. Laurence, &c. &c.

In 1349 having obtained a grant of the manor of Coolmine in the parish of Saggard, from Geoffrey Crumpe, subject to rent and services to the chief lord, he settled it for the maintenance of certain chantries in the cathedral of St. Patrick's, adding for the same endowment several houses and gardens near the palace of St. Sepulchre and in the parish of St. Kevin, which had previously been assigned to the uses of hospitality and reception of strangers.* The contest relative to the primacy was renewed in this year, more

* Dign. Dec. p. 172.

vehemently than ever, between this prelate and Fitz Ralph the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh. The latter, being supported by the royal authority,* entered Dublin with the cross erect before him, lodged in the city and continued in it three nights, openly read and proclaimed the privileges of his province and the bulls of his primacy, in the presence of the Lord Justice of Ireland, the Prior of Kilmainham, and such of the peers as were then in town, by whose influence, however, he was sent back to Drogheda, whither many, who had resisted him, followed in the terror of ecclesiastical censures, until in time they obtained forgiveness.

On the 14th of July in the same year, de Bicknor died, having governed this see almost thirty-two years. Ware conjectures that he was buried in St. Patrick's church, adding, in reference to his character, that "he was no way inferior to any of his predecessors, either in point of wisdom or learning;" while Harris mentions that there is extant in the Registry of Mary's Abbey, an account of a remarkable sermon preached by him in Christ Church against sloth and idleness, wherein he bitterly complained of the mischiefs arising from the stragglers and beggars, that infested the city and suburbs of Dublin, and inveighed warmly against every one that would not exercise some trade or calling every day more or less. His sermon had such influence, that the then mayor of Dublin warmly adopted its views, and exerted all his authority to en-

* See Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 190, 191, 192.

force diligence and industry throughout the city. "He would not suffer an idle person to beg within his liberties, but only those who spun and knitted as they went to and fro, which kind of exercise even the begging friars were obliged to imitate, in the apprehension of the archbishop's or the lord mayor's censures."*

At the commencement of the year 1350, but before de Bicknor's successor was appointed, the king renewed his applications to Cardinal Audomar, requesting him to intercede with the Pope, to adjust the claim of primacy between the provinces of Armagh and Dublin.

JOHN DE ST. PAUL.

[Succ. 1350. Ob. 1362.]

John de St. Paul, prebendary of Donnington in the Cathedral of York,† and Canon of Dublin, was by provision of the Pope advanced to this archbishopric, on the 12th of September, 1350, soon after which, the king confirmed his right of patronage in sundry benefices,‡ and, on the 8th of December in the same year, interdicted the Archbishop of Armagh from raising his cross within the province of Dublin;§ de St. Paul was also appointed Chancellor of Ireland, with a salary of £40 per annum, an office which he enjoyed during six years. In 1351 Pope

* Mason's St. Patrick's Cathedral, p. 135.
† Willis's Cath. vol. i. p. 128. ‡ Rot. in Turr. Lond.
§ Allen's Reg. f. 32.

Clement the Sixth armed him with a commission, to make inquiry as to all those before mentioned as accused of heresy, who had fled from the prosecution of Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, into the diocese of Dublin, and had been protected by Alexander de Bicknor, the late archbishop, and to bring them to due punishment according to the canons,* and he thereupon further restored the metropolitan jurisdiction of Dublin over Ossory. In the same year, this prelate held a synod in Christ Church, the constitutions and canons of which are preserved in Wilkins's *Concilia*. They enforced the observance of the festivals of the Conception, and of St. Anne the mother of the Blessed Virgin, interdicted clandestine marriages, confirmed the immunities of the Church, directed the observance of Good Friday as a feast and holiday, genuflection at the sacred name of Jesus, the reverential bowing at the "Gloria Patri," and the due publication of ecclesiastical censures in parish churches. He also about this time procured a revocation of the king's letters theretofore granted to the primate, and a stay of the exercise of the primacy within the province of Dublin. The king, in his letter of revocation, suggested, that the letters granted to the primate had been fallaciously obtained, by concealing the truth to the great prejudice of this see; and he commanded the chancellor to issue writs as often as there should be occasion, and to have public proclamation made, that nobody

* Wadding's Annals, vol. viii. p. 419.

under peril of life or limb should act to the contrary; while he likewise directed the justices, officers, and ministers to arrest and imprison all offenders in the premises. Fitz Ralph, however, still insisted on the rights of his church, and this prelate obtained other letters patent from the king, dated 12th of May, 1352, forbidding more strictly any assumption of the Archbishop of Armagh's power in this province, permitting him, however, to appear by his proctors, at such parliaments as might be held within it, without being subjected to any amerciaments or molestation, as for not attending in person.*

About the year 1357, the king issued a writ, authorizing de St. Paul to constitute perpetual vicars in all dignities and prebends of royal patronage within his archbishopric, with certain proportions of greater or lesser tithes and other revenues for their support, and to enforce their perpetual residence; he had also, in the same year, licence to appropriate the advowson of the church of Stackallan, to the vicars of St. Patrick's Cathedral,† and obtained a general exemplification and confirmation of all his liberties and courts. In the following year, he was appointed by the crown a privy councillor, the lord deputy at the same time receiving a royal order to take him to his council, and to adhere as far as possible to his suggestions;‡ and his first earnest advice,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 248. † Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.
‡ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 432 and 433.

that the lords of lands, situated near the marches of the pale, should be compelled to sojourn on their estates, and fortify and improve them,* evinces the soundness of the king's recommendation.

In 1360 he was one of the three whom the king appointed to explore for, and manage when discovered, such mines of gold and silver as the writ recites "were understood to be abundant" in various parts of Ireland, and where very great wealth and profit might be derived to the state.† In 1361 he had an especial writ of summons, to a great council to be held in Dublin,‡ on which occasion he laboured, with his usual good sense and judgment, to effect a general amnesty and pardon of such of the Irish and English as were then opposed to the government,§ and to so soften their jealous and hostile natures to kinder and more conciliatory intercourse. In the same year he had a confirmation to him and his successors, of a former grant of King Edward the First, conferring the right of free warren on his lands. The extent of his patronage was likewise confirmed,‖ and he had a grant, from Simon Luttrel, of the advowson of the church of Stackallan, with certain other premises there, rendering to the Baron of Slane the services due thereout.

Having sat in this see about thirteen years, he died on the 9th of September, 1362, and was buried in Christ Church, under a marble monument before

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* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 434. † Ib. p. 482. ‡ Ib. p. 612.
§ Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib. ‖ Rot. in Turr. Lond.

the high altar, on which were inscribed these words: "Ego Johannes de S. Paulo, quondam Archiepiscopus Dubliniæ, credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terrâ surrecturus sum, et iterum circumdabor pelle meâ et in carne meâ videbo Deum salvatorem meum." *Job.* This prelate much enlarged and beautified the church of the Holy Trinity, having built the choir at his own charge, and did many other acts of favour to the fraternity, for which he was commemorated in an office of nine lessons.*

THOMAS MINOT.

[Succ. 1363. Ob. 1375.]

Thomas Minot succeeded by the Pope's provision, as his predecessor had done, having been Prebendary of Mullaghiddart, Treasurer of Ireland, and for a time, also, escheator of that kingdom. He was consecrated on Palm Sunday, in 1363, a document of which year is extant, detailing very fully the temporal possessions of this see.

In 1365, the primatial controversy was renewed between him and Milo Sweetman, Archbishop of Armagh, so warmly, that King Edward the Third thought it necessary to interpose again. He accordingly required, that the matter should be adjusted in friendship between them, and that, according to the example of the prelates of Canterbury and York, both should bear up their crosiers in each other's

* Book of Obits of Christ Church.

provinces, without any interruption, as is evident from many of the king's writs in this cause, and especially from his letters directed to Minot, and to the Archbishop of Armagh, both dated the 9th of June, 1365. To which royal suggestions, Milo replied, that in obedience to the writ, he had personally appeared on two days, to treat with the Archbishop of Dublin upon the confines of his province; but, that the latter, though having notice, did not appear, and on the last day sent his proctor, who demanded that he, the Archbishop of Armagh, should obey the injunctions of the king in every particular, and especially in the mutual bearing up of the cross in each other's province, "which," says he, "I could not agree to for the following reasons. First, as by reason of the shortness of the time I could not have the advice of my dean and chapter. Second, as in evidence of my primatial privileges, I had by common law by Popes' bulls, and Kings' concessions, the right of erecting my cross in the province of Dublin, and in all other provinces of the kingdom. Third, that concerning the primatial right, and carrying the cross in the diocese of Dublin, there hath been a controversy depending for many years, and still remains undecided in the Court of Rome, but no controversy concerning his carrying the cross in my dominions. Fourth, that every Archbishop of Armagh hath, or ought to have, by right and ancient custom, three archbishops in Ireland subject to him, viz. Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, the latter of whom contended upon this matter, and my pre-

decessor had a judicial sentence against him in the Court of Rome, and obtained a bull from the apostolic see, that he might by primatial right visit the province of Tuam every five years, which bull I have in my custody; and he therefore concluded, by praying the king's excuse for not complying with his writ in that particular, and desiring that no such writ should for the future issue out of his chancery. On the third of October following, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, issued a writ to the sheriff of Dublin, dated at Kilkenny, commanding him to warn the Archbishop of Dublin to appear before him at Castledermot, on the Tuesday after St. Luke's day, there to answer for the aforesaid contempt, in not meeting and agreeing with the Archbishop of Armagh. The matter, however, proceeded no farther at that time.

In 1366, the revenues of the precentor of St. Patrick's having been much reduced by the invasion of the Irish from the mountains, this prelate united to that dignity the church of Kilmactalway, reserving to himself and his successors two marks for proxies at the visitation, and half a mark pension to the Dean of Dublin, requiring at the same time that service should be performed there by a sufficient curate. This addition, says Allen, (*Regist.* f. 201,) was for the purpose of enabling the dean to live hospitably, give alms, and answer the expenses and charges of his office. About the year 1370, Minot repaired part of St. Patrick's church, which had been destroyed by an accidental fire, and built a very high

steeple of hewn stone, in reference to which an ancient Registry of St. Patrick's cathedral has the following curious notice :—" After the burning of St. Patrick's church, sixty straggling and idle fellows were taken up, and obliged to assist in repairing the church and building the steeple, who, when the work was over, returned to their old trade of begging, but were banished out of the diocese in 1376 by Archbishop de Wikeford." Their names are inserted in the Registry. The archbishop felt so gratified at the structure which he thus completed, that he afterwards bore on his seal the device of a bishop holding a steeple in his hand. It may be here remarked of the armorials of this archiepiscopal see, that it bears sapphire, a pastoral staff in pale, ensigned with a cross pattee topaz, surrounded by a pall silver, edged and fringed gold, charged with five crosses pattee fitchy diamond.

In 1373 he is stated to have been one of those, who advised the customs and assessments imposed, and other arbitrary measures enforced by William de Windsor, Lord Deputy,* and in the same year was summoned to attend a great council to be held in Dublin, together with sufficient proctors for his dean and chapter and the clergy of his diocese.† In the following year he had licence to erect the church of Rathsallagh into a prebend, and in 1375 had the royal mandate to attend a council summoned to con-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. iii. pp. 977, 978, and 979.

† Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.

sider and provide against the hostilities of the O'Briens of Thomond, who with a great force invaded Munster,* but in the June of that year he died in London; whereupon, the king committed the custody of the temporalities of this see to Stephen, Bishop of Meath, to hold during the vacancy.

ROBERT DE WIKEFORD.

[Succ. 1375. Ob. 1390.]

Robert de Wikeford, of the ancient family of Wikeford Hall, in Essex, Archdeacon of Winchester, Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law of the University of Oxford, and for a time Fellow of Merton College, was advanced to this see by a provision from Pope Gregory the Ninth, dated at Avignon, on the 12th of October, 1375, before the close of which year he was consecrated. In the Easter following he had restitution of the temporalities, but his writ for that purpose does not bear date until the 30th of January, 1376, when he had performed all the previous requisites. He was in great favour with King Edward the Third, and employed by him in many affairs of importance before his advancement to this see. In particular, in 1370, he was commissioned to treat with Wenceslaus, Duke of Brabant, for the entertainment of that prince and his army in pay during the wars; in 1371 was sent ambassador, in conjunction with others, to the Earl of Flanders, in which commission

* Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.

he is described as a doctor of both laws.* In 1373, being then constable of the castle of Bourdeaux, he was employed to treat of a league, offensive and defensive, with Peter, King of Arragon, and on the 12th of April, in the same year, was joined in commission with Thomas Felton, Seneschal of Aquitain, to take possession of that principality, then surrendered to the king by his eldest son, Prince Edward, to whom he had previously granted it for life. De Wikeford was at the same time appointed one of the commissioners to hear appeals therein,† but he did not continue long in this office, the king having occasion for his services elswhere. In the year 1375, a little before his advancement to this see, he was condemned in a suit prosecuted against him by Ivo Beaustan, before Sir Guy de Bryan and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, then the king's judges in Aquitain, concerning the right to a prisoner, and without citation, confession, or conviction, all requisite forms being pretermitted, was, although absent and in the king's service, adjudged to pay and render 7625 franks, 200 marks of silver, two good coursers, and one hackney. From this judgment, however, he appealed to the king and council in England as to his superior judges, and Edward thereupon sent a mandatory writ, dated the 26th of June, 1375, (wherein he styles him his beloved clerk,) to Thomas Felton, seneschal of Aquitain, William de Elmham, seneschal of Gascony, and Richard Rotour, then

* Rymer's Fœdera. † Ib.

constable of Bourdeaux, commanding them to supersede the said judgment, to cite the said Ivo to appear before the king and council at Westminster, the day after the purification following, and to stand to such decree as the king and council should make in the premises. On the 3rd of August, in the same year, the king, at the request of the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, and of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, granted them licence to choose a bishop in the place of Thomas Minot, deceased, and their choice falling on de Wikeford was confirmed as before mentioned.

Immediately on his appointment, he was summoned to attend a parliament to be held in Dublin.* A remarkable law case is mentioned connected with this period of the archbishop's life: one Thomas, a clerk in England, obtained judgment against him before he was archbishop for £10, and, upon affidavit that the defendant lived in Ireland and had goods and lands there, and the sheriff's return that he had no goods or lands in England, the plaintiff had a writ of *fieri facias* against him when archbishop, to levy the said money out of his lands and chattels in Ireland.

In the parliamentary representation which sat at Westminster in 1376, the proctors representing the clergy of the diocese of Dublin were John Fitz Ellis and Thomas Athelard. In Ireland, it may be here observed, the clergy seemed to have early complied

* Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib.

with the model of Edward the First in sending proctors to parliament; and, while the archbishops and bishops, mitred abbots, and priors sat in the upper house, the proctors assembled in the lower. In that year de Wikeford was appointed Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1377 received a mandatory writ to alter the great seal by changing Edward into Richard; while, at the same time, he had a liberate for £20 from the treasury, for his expenses in attending "a great council."* He was also at that time summoned to attend a parliament to be held at Castledermot,† and ordered to direct the deans and chapters of his cathedrals to choose sufficient proxies to appear for them on the occasion.‡ In 1378 he had an exemplification and confirmation of the manor of Swords to him and his successors, and on the 23rd of April, 1380, had a grant to the see of all its possessions, by one of those little slips of parchment which formerly conveyed whole baronies, while the smallest estates of modern times are deemed to require a pile of skins for their transmission. In the same year the assizes, which were to be held before him, were, on the petition of the council, postponed, in consequence of his necessary attendance in England.§ In 1381 he was directed by royal mandate to appoint collectors of a clerical subsidy for the service of the State,‖ and summoned to attend a parliament in Dublin, with sufficient proctors for his dean and chapter and the clergy of his diocese.¶ He was also required in the

* Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib. † Ib. ‡ Ib.
§ Rot. in Canc. Hib. ‖ Ib. ¶ Ib.

same year to assign the usual corody to a clerk of the king's nomination.*

In 1382 de Wikeford was ordered to attend a conference of the prelates and nobles to be held at Naas,† and was further specially directed not to absent himself from Ireland without licence.‡ In 1385 he was again appointed Lord Chancellor. In 1387 he had a confirmation of the right of holding a fair at Swords, and also obtained a grant to the see of that half of the cantred of the abbacy of Glendalough, which lay next to the castle of Ballymore,§ and in 1389 was one of the persons appointed to assess the clergy and commons of the County of Dublin, for a prescribed subsidy which they had granted.‖

Early in 1390 he had leave of absence for one year to visit England,¶ during which interval, on the 29th of August, 1390, he died. In the Book of Obits of Christ Church it is recorded of this prelate, that he remised and released to that cathedral an annual payment of five marks, which his predecessors had received for archiepiscopal proxies, and in return a yearly commemoration was appointed for him there, with an office of nine lessons.

ROBERT WALDBY.

[Succ. 1391. Resig. 1395.]

Robert Waldby, Bishop of Ayre in Gascony, was translated to this see by the Pope, on the 14th of

* Rot. in Canc. Hib. † Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib. ‡ Ib.
§ Allen's Registry. ‖ Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib. ¶ Ib.

November, 1391. He is said to have been born in the city of York, but to have received the first elements of his education in the abbey of Tickell in Yorkshire, where Ware conjectures his brother and he assumed the habit of the Augustinian order. He afterwards attended the Black Prince into foreign parts, and fixed his abode at Tholouse, "where," says Bale, "he at last arrived to such a pitch of eminence, that he was reckoned in the first rank amongst the learned both for his eloquence and skill in languages. He next became divinity professor at Tholouse, and such an excellent preacher, that he was advanced to the highest promotions." These illustrious qualifications gained him the esteem of Prince Edward, who never failed to patronize men of learning and morality, and he bestowed upon him the bishopric of Ayre. Nor was his influence lessened on the accession of Richard the Second, who, in 1383, sent him to treat with John, Duke of Lancaster, that had set up a title to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, and such was the royal confidence in Waldby, that he was at the same time entrusted with three other commissions, one to treat of a peace with Peter, King of Arragon, another to negotiate a mutual league with Charles, King of Navarre, and a third to effect the reduction of John, Earl of Armagnac, the king's vassal, to true obedience.*

In 1392, after he was about a year in this see, the same monarch constituted him Chancellor of Ire-

* Rymer's Fœdera.

land; at which time he appointed Richard Metford, Bishop of Chichester, treasurer of this kingdom; and in the following year, Waldby had restitution of all such his liberties as had been theretofore encroached upon.* In 1394, and a second time in 1395, he had full confirmations to him and his successors of all former grants and privileges conferred upon the see,† and at the close of the same year was ordered to be restored to certain parcels of church lands, which his predecessors had attempted to alien. In 1395 he was summoned to a great council to be held at Kilkenny,‡ where he obtained a confirmation of the jurisdiction, privileges, pleas, courts, fairs, franchises, customs, and appurtenances to his see belonging, with the liberty of a boat on the Anna Liffey; and he soon afterwards received from the Pope, a faculty of filling sundry benefices within his diocese, the patronage of which had by lapse devolved upon his Holiness.§ In the same year, the before-mentioned Richard Metford, Bishop of Chichester, having been translated to the see of Sarum, Doctor Waldby succeeded him in that of Chichester, where, however, he sat but a short time, and in 1396 was further promoted to the Archbishopric of York.

Immediately on his translation from Dublin, the king issued his mandate to the chancellor, treasurer, justices, barons, and escheators of Ireland, empowering them to inquire concerning certain alienations of the see lands alleged to have been made by him,

* Rot. in Turr. Berm.
† Allen's Registry.
‡ Rot. in Ch. Rememb. Office.
§ Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib.

and to cause restitution to be made thereof, while the custody of the whole temporalities was, at the same time, committed to the Bishop of Meath during the vacancy.*

Archbishop Waldby died in 1397, and was buried in St. Edmond's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, where a very ancient brass figure, in episcopal robes, and under a canopy of the same metal, is inlaid on the flat stone that marks his grave. The flag immediately joining this at top, covers the remains of that romantic nobleman Lord Herbert, of Cherbury. Bale ascribes to Doctor Waldby some sermons, and other religious works.

RICHARD NORTHALIS.

[Succ. 1396. Ob. 1397.]

Richard Northalis was, on the translation of Archbishop Waldby, promoted to this see. He was the son of a mayor of London, and born near that city. Having become a Carmelite friar, he obtained such a high reputation for his preaching, learning, and other acquirements, as attracted the notice of the king, who advanced him to the bishopric of Ossory in 1386. About the year 1390 he was constituted a commissioner by the king to inspect into the state, losses, and abuses of and in the government of Ireland, and into the corruptions and fraud of the officers there, with powers to call before him all peers, prelates, and

* Rot. in Canc. Hib.

others to give information in the premises; and in particular, to report how and on what security Nigel O'Neill was enlarged, to inquire also into the numbers which Sir John Stanley, Lord Deputy, had kept in his retinue at his last arrival in Ireland, whether he had performed the covenants in his indentures of government, and how many men-at-arms and archers he transported with him from England, as also to ascertain the value of the revenues of Ireland while the said justice administered the government there, and how much thereof he applied to his own use. Northalis was, likewise, authorized to supervise and examine into the rolls and records of the exchequer and other courts, as often as he pleased, and to report the behaviour of the officers. And all prelates, peers, and other subjects, were commanded to be aiding and assisting to him in the execution of this multifarious commission. In 1391 and 1394 he was employed by the same monarch in the quality of an ambassador to Pope Boniface the Ninth, and was appointed Chancellor of Ireland in 1393.

Having spent about nine years in the prelacy of Ossory, he was in 1396 promoted, as before mentioned, to this archbishopric; an honour, however, which he enjoyed but for a very short interval, and dying in Dublin on the 20th of July, 1397, was buried in his own cathedral. While he presided over this province, he obtained for himself and his successors, the then very important privilege of the admiralty of Dalkey, as fully mentioned at that locality in the "History of the County of Dublin."

THOMAS CRANLEY.

[Succ. 1397. Ob. 1417.]

Thomas Cranley, of the Carmelite order, a native of England, Doctor of Divinity, Fellow of Merton College, Warden of New College, and for a time Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was, on the death of Archbishop Northalis, appointed his successor. He appears to have been consecrated in 1397, although he did not arrive in Dublin until the October of the following year, when he came in company with the Duke of Surrey, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He then also filled the influential office of Lord Chancellor of this country. In 1398 he had letters of protection on proceeding to foreign parts in the service of the king,* and in the following year had power to treat with the Irish.† In 1401 he was again appointed Lord Chancellor, and in the same year the clergy and commons of his diocese granted a subsidy of eighty marks for the use of the state.‡

In 1403, in consequence of the illness of this prelate, the king empowered the Master of the Rolls to exercise the office of chancellor as his deputy.§ In 1405, by reason of his being so much employed in state affairs, as not to be able to attend at the places where assizes were to be held, the king authorized the Chief Justice and the second Justice of the bench to preside at the same in his place.‖ The imme-

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* Rymer's Fœdera. † Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.
‡ Rymer's Fœdera. § Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib. ‖ Ib.

diately succeeding years afford no firm footing for his historian, until the beginning of the year 1413, when Doctor Cranley being again Lord Chancellor, from a similar and paramount occupation of his time in places remote from the sessions of the chief bench, John Bermingham, second justice thereof, was assigned to hold the assizes for him. At the close of this year, the archbishop was Lord Justice of Ireland, at which latter period, Leland the antiquary says, "he wrote a neat epistle to the king, in elegant verse, consisting of 106 lines, which I read with great pleasure, and was at the pains of treasuring up in my memory."

In 1416, on the departure of Lord Furnival for England, he constituted this prelate his deputy in the government of Ireland, as he was so empowered to do by his commission,* and honourable mention of his conduct in that trust was made by the Irish memorialists of the day. About the end of April 1417, he went into England, where he died at Faringdon, on the 25th of May following, in the eightieth year of his age, and not more full of years than honours. His body was conveyed to Oxford, and there interred in New College of which he had been the first warden. A monument was erected therein for him, being "a fair stone, adorned with brass plates, bearing the figure of a bishop clothed in his sacred vestments, over whom the armorials of the see of Dublin are placed with his own;" beneath is

* Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib.

an inscription in barbarous latin, which Harris has copied, as also another that runs round the side of the stone. "He was a prelate," as Leland says, "in high reputation for his wit and pen;" while Marleburgh writes, "he was liberal, and fond of alms deeds, a profound clerk, and doctor of divinity, an excellent preacher, and a great builder and improver of such places as fell under his care. He was fair, magnificent, of a sanguine complexion, and tall of stature, so that in his time it might be said to him, 'thou art fair beyond the children of men, grace is diffused through thy lips because of thy eloquence;'" endowments which rendered him justly dear to the three successive kings, during whose reigns he lived.

RICHARD TALBOT.

[Suc. 1417. Ob. 1449.]

Richard Talbot, his successor, was descended from a noble family, and brother to that celebrated warrior John Talbot, Lord of Furnival, whom King Henry the Sixth, for his great valour and faithful services in France, dignified with the titles of Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford. In 1407 he was collated to the precentorship of Hereford, and in 1416 was elected to the primacy of Armagh, after the death of Archbishop Fleming; but, having neglected to expedite his confirmation in due time, John Swain was promoted thereto in his place. In the following year (1417), he was consecrated archbishop of this see, as may be seen in the White

Book of Christ Church, compiled in the sixteenth century by Thomas Fitch, sub-prior of that cathedral.

In 1423 he was Lord Justice, and subsequently Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1424 had a grant for his services, of all the estates of Matthew St. John deceased, being in the hands of the king by reason of the death of said Matthew and the minority of his heir William St. John, to hold same, together with the marriage of said heir, and so from heir to heir, until some one should attain age, and have livery of said estates. He was also constituted at this time a justice and guardian of the peace within the county of Dublin, with various powers. In 1425, on account of his being daily engaged journeying in the Lord Deputy's suite, he assigned the Chief Justice, and the second Justice of Ireland, to hold the assizes without the great seal, saving, however, the fees of said seal.*

In 1426 he reduced the proxies, that were formerly paid by the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity to the Archbishops of Dublin, from five marks, to two and an half, which concession Pope Eugene afterwards confirmed, in the seventh year of his pontificate, by a bull still preserved among the archives of Christ Church. In the ensuing year, in recompence of his labours and charges on finding men at arms, and archers, horse and foot, for the defence of the marches of the county of Dublin and else-

* Rot. in Canc. Hib.

where against the Irish, he had £40 granted to him from the treasury ;* and in 1428 was again constituted Lord Chancellor.†

In 1429, John Swain, Archbishop of Armagh, having been summoned to appear in a parliament held in the province of Leinster, made return, that he could not personally attend without violation of his oath, taken at his consecration, to defend the rights of his see, and that he was impeded by the contradiction and rebellion of the archbishop and clergy of Dublin, on the articles of bearing his cross, and asserting his primatial jurisdiction in the province of Leinster. In the same year Talbot had a royal mandate, reciting, that the king was led to understand, that several of his Irish subjects, arrayed and in arms, held unlawful meetings and traversed the country from place to place, causing various damages to the king and his subjects, all which ill doings this prelate was alleged to aid and abet; he was therefore commanded forthwith to put a stop to such meetings, and without fail, to appear before his majesty and his council at an early day, there to answer such matters as might be charged against him.‡

In 1431 the king granted to him the custody of two-thirds of the manor of Trim, and of certain other premises, being in the crown by reason of the minority of Richard Duke of York, and in the same year, with the consent of the prebendary of Swords and of the two chapters of the diocese, he instituted a

* Rot. in Canc. Hib. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

new corporation within the cathedral of St. Patrick's, consisting of six minor canons, and six choristers: the former were to be presbyters; of these he designated the first in rank by the title of sub-dean, and the second by that of succentor; they were not, however, to have a voice in the chapter, or any fixed stall in the choir. For the support of this body, he allocated the tithes of the parish of Swords, except such portions as were specially reserved to the prebendary and perpetual vicar; the two elder canons were to receive six marks yearly, over and above the stipend of ten marks allowed annually to each of the other four; each of the choristers were to have four marks of English money, while twenty from the residue were reserved to the precentor for life; but, after his death, the whole of such residue was appropriated for ever to lighting the altars, and other uses of the cathedral.* He also established a chantry in St. Michael's church, which, from being a chapel he constituted parochial, and likewise, founded the chantry of St. Anne in St. Audeon's church, for the maintenance of six priests, to pray for the king, and the founder, and their successors, and procured a licence to purchase in mortmain to the extent of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum for its endowment.

In 1432 it is recorded that Thomas Chace having in the presence of the Lord Deputy, in the chapter room of the house of the Dominicans, presented letters patent, by which he was appointed Lord

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 83.

Chancellor, to this prelate, and having required from him the delivery of the great seal, the archbishop, conceiving the letters patent did not sufficiently substantiate such an intention, declined giving up same, but consigned them to the custody of the Lord Deputy until the king's will should be, as it so afterwards was, better ascertained.* In 1435, and in the three following years, the Archbishop of Armagh having been summoned to attend parliaments to be held in the province of Leinster, made similar returns of being impeded by this prelate as he had in 1429. In 1436 Archbishop Talbot acted as deputy to Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and about the year 1440 caused certain processes and apostolic bulls, in favour of the four orders of mendicants, to be published at the high cross of the City of Dublin,† as so specially directed by the pope. In the same year he was again Lord Deputy of Ireland, and as such presided at a parliament held there.‡

In 1442 and 1443 similar assertions of primatial authority occur as mentioned at 1429. About the close of the former year Talbot was despatched by the parliament of Ireland to King Henry the Sixth, together with the superior of St. Mary's Abbey, with a joint commission to instruct his Majesty on the state of affairs in that kingdom. In 1443, on the death of John Prene, he was elected Archbishop of Armagh by the dean and chapter of that see, but upon his

* Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib. † Rot. Claus. in Canc. Hib.
‡ Borlase's Reduction of Ireland, p. 76.

refusal of the dignity it was conferred upon John Mey. In 1445 he was a fourth time Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in 1447 was appointed deputy to the Earl of Ormond, Viceroy of Ireland. In 1446, and the three following years, similar assertions of primatial authority occur as mentioned in 1429.

Having sat in this see almost thirty-two years, during all which time he was of the privy council, to King Henry the Fifth and King Henry the Sixth, he died on the 15th of August, 1449, and was buried in St. Patrick's Church before the steps of the altar, under a marble monument adorned with his portraiture cut in brass, a mitre on his head, and a pastoral staff in his hand; some fragments of which, Harris says, were remaining in his day, with an inscription, which Ware has preserved. The temporalities of the see were upon his decease committed to Sir William Welles, knight. Archbishop Talbot was the author of a work entitled "De abusû regiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormoniæ, dum esset locumtenens Hiberniæ," on which subject a contemporary of his, Giles Thornton, Treasurer of Ireland, also wrote. Those pamphlets were but introductory to hostile designs against the Earl of Ormond, when Thomas Fitz Thomas, Prior of Kilmainham, supported by this archbishop, and by the Lord Treasurer, went to England to accuse him of high treason. The combat was, thereupon, awarded between them to take place at Smithfield in London, but the king interposed and prevented the rencontre. There were not, however, wanting champions in the paper war to undertake

the earl's defence; among whom was Jordan, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, whose epistle to King Henry the Sixth upon this subject is yet extant.*

MICHAEL TREGURY.

[Succ. 1449. Ob. 1471.]

Before the close of the year in which Archbishop Talbot died, Michael Tregury, a native of the village of Tregury in Cornwall, (whence his family derived the surname), Doctor of Divinity in the university of Oxford, sometime Fellow of Exeter college there, and chaplain to the King, was consecrated in St. Patrick's church archbishop of this province, having therewith, as his predecessor had, the deanery of Penkridge in Staffordshire, before alluded to. He was even at a much earlier period esteemed of such great eminence for learning and wisdom, that in the year 1418 King Henry the Fifth invited him over to Caen in Normandy, to take upon him the government of a college which that monarch had founded there, Henry at the same time selecting the professors thereof from the mendicant friars. Tregury accepted this trust, and for a considerable time discharged it with well-merited applause, both for his public lectures and his writings, a catalogue of which may be seen in Bale and Pits.

His life, during the period of his prelacy, was chiefly passed in such scenes of repose, or strictly

* Ware's Writers, p. 323.

ecclesiastical employments, as leaves little of popular note for history to commemorate. In 1450 he had restitution of the temporalities of his see, with the usual renunciation clause of any benefit in the bull of his promotion prejudicial to the crown. He was called into the Privy Council immediately, and had £20 per annum granted him by the king for his good counsel, being the salary which his predecessors, Archbishops of Dublin, who were of the council, had been accustomed to receive. In 1451 the liberties of his see were, on inspeximus and by the authority of a great council held at Drogheda, and thence adjourned to Dublin, again confirmed to him and his successors for ever. In the same year, according to the Registry of the Dominican monastery in Dublin, above fifty persons went out of this diocese to Rome, to celebrate the jubilee then held under Pope Nicholas the Fifth, to whom this prelate gave recommendatory certificates. So great was the concourse and hardship of the pilgrimage, that seven of the number were pressed to death in the crowd, and many more died of fatigue on their return. In accordance with this account, Matthias Palmerius, in his additions to the Chronicle of Eusebius, says, "there was so great a gathering of people from all parts of the Christian world at this jubilee, that at Adrian's mole almost 200 perished in the press, besides many who were drowned in the Tiber." They, who returned safe in 1453, brought the melancholy news that Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Emperor Constantine Palæologus slain; Archbishop Tregury

was so afflicted at the account, that he proclaimed a fast, to be strictly observed throughout his diocese for three successive days, and granted indulgences to those who observed it, while himself went before the clergy in procession to Christ Church, clothed in sackcloth and ashes. At this period, it appearing that the archiepiscopal crosier had been, on the decease of Archbishop Tregury and before the arrival of Talbot, surreptitiously pledged for five marks, this prelate pronounced sentence, that, as the prior and convent of Christ Church had the honour and responsibility of keeping it, they ought to release it; yet it appears, from the comment written by Archbishop Allen in the time of Henry the Eighth, that this valuable ensign of authority continued unredeemed for nearly eighty years: "Verum ego Alanus Johannes septimus, (being the seventh John that was Archbishop of Dublin,) propriis expensis recuperavi tam crucem quam baculum, dando uncias ferme centum argenti de meis. Igitur orate pro animâ meâ."

In 1453 the king, for the securing of an arrear of two years and an half due to this prelate and his accruing salary, granted him the custody of the manor or lordship of Saggard, and the town of Ballychize, parcel thereof, to hold same during the time he should be archbishop.* In the same year he was taken prisoner in the bay by pirates, who were carrying off some ships from the harbour of Dublin; they were pursued, however, to Ardglass in the county of

* Rymer's Fœdera.

Down, where 520 of these sea-rovers were killed, and the prelate released. In 1454 all statutes against provisors in England and Ireland were confirmed by a new act, and directed to be enforced against all who should sue "any provision upon any man beneficed within this land of Ireland, and by cause of the provision enter into any benefice or benefices of the Church, and take any goods or chattels from any benefices of the Church against whom any provisions are sued," under pecuniary penalties and treble damages; and in 1458 another act of parliament was passed, to compel all persons holding benefices in Ireland to reside in that country, under pain of forfeiture of all the issues and profits of their livings, a moiety thereof to be applied to the use of their churches, and the other moiety "to be expended in our sovereign lord the king's wars, in defence of this poor land of Ireland." In 1461, on the occasion of this prelate going to England, he had licence to receive, for one year of absence, the tithes and other profits of his diocese, without incurring any penalties as an absentee.*

There is extant in the Liber Niger of Christ Church, a copy of a bull of Pope Pius the Second, dated the 23rd of November, 1462, and directed to the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ossory, commanding them to pronounce as excommunicated, Geoffrey Harold and two of his sons, Patrick Byrne, Thady Sheriff, Robert Burnell and others, laymen of the city

* Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.

and diocese of Dublin, for assaulting this prelate and committing him to prison, and to keep the offenders under the ban, until they personally sought absolution at Rome with the sanction and approval of the said bishop and archdeacon. These were, probably, some accessaries in the transaction mentioned *ante* at 1453.

In 1467 the purchasing of Irish benefices from Rome, to hold in commendam, was by statute prohibited under all the penalties of the acts against provisors, with the additional enactment that no pardon or licence of the king should avail to excuse any one offending therein, unless confirmed by parliament; and all letters patent of pardon from the king to provisors were declared void. In the same year, this prelate assigned a moiety of the parish of Lusk for the treasurer of St. Patrick's, and constituted the rectory of St. Audeon in the city, a distinct prebend. In 1468 he held a visitation in the chapter-house of St. Patrick's cathedral; on which occasion the general articles having been read, the dean reported that he had visited the canons, petit canons, and vicars choral, that all the prebends were visited, except Tipperkevin, Tipper, Ballymore, Dunlavin, Yagoe, Donaghmore in Imayle, Stagonil, and Monmohenock, which lay in the Irish territory, or on the marches of the Pale, so that he dared not to visit them on account of the war in those parts, and except also Howth and Mullaghiddart. He reported, moreover, that they were corrected by his visitation, were corrigible and obedient; whereupon, after some questions

asked relative to the hospitality of the dean and canons, the visitation was adjourned.* In the following year, on the occasion of his going to England on state affairs, he had letters of protection prohibiting any to retard or molest him, &c.†

Having presided over this see twenty-two years, he died in 1471 (the 21st of December), at a very advanced age, at the manor-house of Tallagh, which he had previously repaired. His remains were conveyed to Dublin, attended by the clergy and citizens, and buried in St. Patrick's church near St. Stephen's altar, as he had directed by his will; where, Ware mentions, "a specious monument" might have been seen before his time, "adorned with his statue of elegant workmanship," with inscriptions at head and foot; but which certainly were penned without much inspiration from the Muses. This monument, Harris adds, was found under the rubbish in St. Stephen's chapel; Dean Swift preserved the cover, and had it set up "in the wall on the left hand after entering the west gate, and between the said gate and the place where theretofore the Consistory court was held, while over it was placed the inscription, 'Vetus hoc monumentum, e ruderibus capellæ divi Stephani nuper instauratæ erutum, Decanus et Capitulum huc transferri curaverunt. A. D. 1730.'" The will of this prelate, dated the 10th of December, 1471, is extant among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin. He thereby devised two silver gilt salt-

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 136. † Rymer's Fœdera.

cellars, with their covers, to be used as chalices in St. Patrick's cathedral at the celebration of Mass. He, likewise, bequeathed a pair of organs to the said church, to be used in St. Mary's chapel. "I devise also," he adds, "that William Wyse, whose industry for this purpose I choose, shall, in my stead, visit with a decent oblation St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which by vow I am bound to perform either by myself or proxy; and he also directed the same individual to make some donations towards building the churches of that neighbourhood, "near which," as he declares, "his friends dwell." He is said by Bale to have written "Lecturas in quatuor libros sententiarum;" "De origine illius studii;" "Ordinarias quæstiones;" and other works.

Immediately after his decease, John Alleyne, Dean of St. Patrick's, was elected archbishop by the united suffrages of both cathedrals; for, although the convent of the Holy Trinity at first feared, lest the displeasure of the crown might be incurred by not waiting for a royal licence, and therefore refused to hold an election, the chapter of St. Patrick's, having executed a bond of indemnity to them for the sum of £100, sealed with their common seal, induced their perfect acquiescence. Nevertheless, although so elected by the voices of both chapters, Alleyne was not confirmed in the archbishopric, probably on account of the informality, and John Walton, being afterwards nominated by the king, received the pall in 1472.

JOHN WALTON.

[Succ. 1472. Resign. 1484.]

John Walton, otherwise called John Mounstern, was the eighteenth Abbot of Osney, near Oxford, to the government of which house he was advanced in 1452, and in the year following obtained a licence from John Bishop of Lincoln, for him and his successors, and for their prebendal churches of Stow and Biberig, to wear a vestment called almucia, as it was used in cathedrals in divine service; this article of distinction was lined with skins or furs, and more commonly called "omos" from being worn on the shoulders. Stephens in his Monasticon conjectures that he was the same John Walton, who supplicated for his degrees in divinity in 1451, the year before he was made Abbot of Osney, being previously canon of that house, and upon that supposition attributes to him the translation of "Boetius de consolatione" into English verse, which is extant in manuscript in Baliol College Library, Oxford. From the aforesaid abbacy he was advanced to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and was consecrated in England and adorned with the pall in 1472. On his arrival in Ireland he endeavoured to exercise ordinary jurisdiction over the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, but the dean insisted on his right to be ordinary in his own cathedral; and, when the archbishop deprived him, he petitioned parliament, and obtained a statute confirmatory of his privileges and those of his chapter. It may be remarked, that there is in the college ma-

nuscripts a registry of the wills of this diocese in 1472.

In 1473, on the occasion of a sequestration of the corbeship of Glendalough, he directed it thus: "Johannes miseratione divinâ Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus et Hiberniæ Primas, clericis, vassalis, adscriptitiis et aliis habitatoribus villæ et totius dominii nostri de Glendalache, terrarum, sylvarum, nemorum et aliorum locorum ipsius manerii nostri, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem,"* &c. In 1475, at the instance of the Dominicans and other regulars, Pope Sextus the Fourth issued his bull, wherein, reciting the abundance of teachers but the deficiency of schools in Ireland, and the consequently rarely embraced and expensive consequences of foreign education, he sanctioned the establishment of a university in Dublin for the study of the arts and theology, and the conferring of the usual degrees therein.† In 1476 Archbishop Walton had a confirmation, by the award of the Bishop of Meath, of fourteen marks for proxies from the Abbey of St. Thomas, for every year he visited in person the said abbey and the churches united to it.‡ Yet not until 1477 does he appear to have obtained formal restitution of the temporalities of his see.

In 1478, on the petition of this prelate, an act of parliament passed, whereby some lands of the archbishopric, which had been partly let out to farm, and

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* Regist. Arch. Dublin.

† De Burgo Hib. Dom. p. 193. ‡ Id. p. 195.

partly alienated by Talbot and Tregury, were restored to the see; the exemplification of the act is preserved in the Black Book of Christ Church. Another statute, of the same session, seems to have laid the foundation of the Archbishop of Dublin being always of his Majesty's Privy Council. The act recited that a doubt existed, whether in the case of any sudden vacancy in the office of Chief Governor, the election of a temporary Deputy should be made by the Privy Council, or by all the lords spiritual and temporal and the more honourable of the three adjoining counties; and it enacts, that it shall be by the council, the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, the mayors of Dublin and Drogheda, and the lords spiritual and temporal of parliament of the four counties, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Louth, or the greater part of them. About the same time this prelate, as Archbishop Allen suggests in the "Repertorium Viride," annexed the perpetual vicarage of St. Kevin to his choral vicar of the prebend of Cullen, and said vicar accordingly appeared in the choir habited as a minor canon, in token of his pre-eminence.

In 1484, being blind and in an infirm state of health, he voluntarily resigned the archbishopric, reserving to himself for a maintenance the manor of Swords during his life; a saving which was confirmed to him in the following year by act of parliament duly enrolled. A short time previous to his resignation, he terminated a long litigation, which had existed between the see and the prior and

convent of Holmpatrick, the particulars of which may be seen at that locality in the "History of the County of Dublin."

Upon the resignation of Archbishop Walton, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, then Lord Deputy, forcibly entered into and took possession of twenty-four townlands belonging to this see, in the lordships of Ballymore and Castlekevin, and held them to the time of his death. Possibly, these were the lands alienated by Talbot and Tregury before mentioned, and which were restored by act of parliament. His immediate successor, Archbishop Fitz Simon, never took any steps for their recovery, although he was a man of power, Chancellor and Lord Deputy, and filled the see during twenty-seven years; Fitz Simon's successor, William Rokeby, in 1514 petitioned Gerald, Earl of Kildare (son of the former), and the council for a restitution, whereupon, the matter was referred to Patrick Bermingham and Richard de la Hoyde, justices, and Bartholomew Dillon, Chief Baron; who, in two years afterwards made an award in favour of the archbishop, and the see was restored to its rights after a dispossession of about thirty-two years, but the house of Kildare, still laying claim to these lands, again forcibly seized upon them, and Harris says he saw a petition of Archbishop Inge to the Earl of Surrey, when Lord Lieutenant, against Thomas Fitz Gerald, complaining of this force, and praying restitution, which was decreed in his favour on the 21st of December, 1521; and it would appear that the see has had undisturbed possession of them ever since.

In 1489, five years after he had vacated the see, emerging from the obscurity and repose which only his age and infirmities necessitated, he again appeared in the pulpit of his cathedral, and preached at St. Patrick's church on the festival of its patron, before the Lord Deputy and the nobles, to the admiration of the hearers. He was led thence to the archbishop's palace, where he dined with the chief men of the State. The Registry of Swords gives an account of this and two other sermons preached by him when he was blind, and speaks of him in terms of high commendation, especially for his hospitality and his cheerful and innocent disposition. The precise time of his death has not been ascertained, but his will without date is extant among the manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin. He therein ordered his body to be buried at Osney, among its abbots, if he died in England, directed one portiforium (an ecclesiastical book), with the Mass-book and a book called "pupilla oculi" to be restored to that abbey, together with the following articles: viz. one silver cup with a gilded cover, one white cup with a cover, and two silver bolbeeis, a silver gilt salt-cellar with a gilt cover, a double neck-cloth of diaper, two long diaper towels, and three short ones of the same sort, a large hanging branch for four candles, of tin, four other candlesticks of tin, ten jackets, two pair of vestments of green damask, six rochets, and other particulars; and he also bequeathed to the said abbey, two books of physic, twelve silver spoons, a feather bed, bolster, and four pillows.

WALTER FITZ-SIMON.

[Succ. 1484. Ob. 1511.]

Walter Fitz-Simon succeeded. He was a bachelor of the civil and canon laws, a learned divine and philosopher, precentor of St. Patrick's church, whose chapter he represented as proxy in a parliament of 1478. He was also official of the diocese of Dublin. On the 14th of June, 1484, Pope Sextus the Fourth appointed him for this see, upon which he was, with the king's licence, consecrated in St. Patrick's cathedral, on the 26th of September following. On the preceding day, the dean, chancellor, and treasurer, had solicited the consent of the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, that this ceremony should take place in St. Patrick's; but they were refused, in consequence of which, a dispute took place that lasted until evening;* on the following day, however, the sacred ceremony was permitted to be solemnized in the place required. In the same year an act was passed, reciting that divers benefices of this diocese, the advowsons of which belonged to the archbishop in right of his see, "were situated amongst Irish enemies, and, as no Englishmen could inhabit the said benefices, and divers English clerks, who were enabled to have cure of souls, were not expert in the Irish language, and such of them as were, disdained to inhabit amongst the Irish people, and others dared not, by which means divine service was

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 139.

diminished, and the cure of souls neglected;" it was therefore enacted, that this prelate might for two years collate Irish clerks to the said benefices, without any impeachment from the king, his heirs, officers, or ministers, any act to the contrary notwithstanding, (such beneficed clergy being sworn to allegiance), a privilege which it was found necessary to renew to Fitz Simon in 1493.

In 1487 this prelate was one of the deluded, who espoused the cause of Lambert Simnel and were accessary to his coronation in Christ Church; accordingly, his holiness on the 9th of January, 1487, directed his bull to the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishops of Clogher and Ossory, reciting, that he had been informed, that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, were not ashamed to adhere to the king's enemies, and to proclaim and crown a pretender, contrary to their true allegiance. The pontiff, therefore, directed an inquiry into the charge, and a full and explicit report in relation thereto, that he might, with the advice of the cardinals, proceed against the offenders, according to the canons. The Primate of Armagh was, however, wholly innocent of the charge, but the other three were publicly guilty. Such indeed was the credulity with which the impostor was received in Ireland, that even the Lord Deputy of the day, the Earl of Kildare, and the council received him with open arms, and the people unanimously declared in his favour. He was carried in state to the Castle of Dublin, in a few days pro-

claimed king, and crowned in Christ Church, by the name of Edward the Sixth; whereupon, he convened a parliament, in which laws were made, subsidies granted, and attainders passed as usual in Ireland. The contrite petition of the mayor and citizens of Dublin to Henry the Seventh, evinces how powerfully this prelate's example influenced their conduct on this occasion. "We were daunted," say they, "not only to see your chief governor, whom your highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol whom they made us to obey, but also our father of Dublin, and most of the clergy of the nation, except the Reverend father his Grace Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh." In 1488, however, Fitz Simon was permitted amongst several to renew his allegiance, and receive pardon through Sir Richard Edgecombe, while the Earl of Kildare took the oath more solemnly in the church of St. Thomas's Abbey, "holding his right hand over the holy host; the Archbishop of Dublin, when the mass was ended in the choir of said church, began Te Deum, and the choir with the organs sung it up solemnly, and at that time all the bells in the church rang."*

In 1492 this prelate was made deputy to Jaspar Duke of Bedford, in lieu of Gerald Earl of Kildare, and the appointment was ratified by the king. While in this situation, he endeavoured to effectuate industrious habits amongst the more indolent of the

* Harris's Hibernica, Part 1, p. 33.

people, and represented to his sovereign, "how idly the younger sons of rich families spent their time, who learned no trade, nor qualified themselves by study for any liberal profession, but lived in a state of dependance on the elder brother or head of the family, and so became useless to the commonwealth; and as for the bulk of the common people, they lived in sloth and indolence, on account of the great plenty of all kinds of provisions that the land naturally produceth, and for this they neglect to labour; that it is greater charity to find work for them, than to relieve them from door to door, for that the one is acceptable to God, profitable to the commonwealth, and healthful to the body; whereas, idleness is the root of all evil." Upon the receipt of this letter Henry immediately issued orders, "that none should be suffered to wander about the cities, towns, or boroughs of Ireland, without a certificate from the mayor, bailiff, or seneschal of the places where they were born, by which means, every town kept their own poor, and a workhouse was erected in every parish, town, or borough, for the vagabonds to work in. The archbishop appointed beadles for this purpose, to look after the several cities, towns, and parishes, to keep beggars out, and to take up strangers."* In the following year (1493), Fitz Simon held a parliament at Dublin, in which all the inquisitions before that time found against him, on the instigation of Roland Lord Portlester, were declared

* Council Books, temp. Hen. VII.

void, while at the same session, all grants, annuities, leases, &c., made by this prelate and his three immediate predecessors, were annulled, and resumed to the church. Being removed in this year from the office of deputy, he immediately passed into England, to lay before the king a full account, as well of his own government as of the state of this kingdom, which was followed by the impeachment of the Earl of Kildare. Before leaving Ireland, he delivered his crosier to Richard Skerrit, Prior of Christ Church, to whom its custody appertained. From this expedition he returned to his province with ample testimonials of the royal satisfaction, and subsequently grew into so much greater favour and familiarity with Henry, that Richard Stanyhurst says of him,* that being present when an oration was pronounced in his praise, that monarch, when it was concluded, inquired from the archbishop, what he found most material in his speech. The archbishop replied, if it pleaseth your highness, it pleaseth me, I find no fault, save only that he flattered your majesty too much. Now in good faith, said the king, our father of Dublin! we were minded to find the same fault ourselves.

In the parliament of 1495 all the statutes theretofore passed, as well in England as in Ireland, against provisors to Rome, were confirmed, and directed "to be from thenceforth duly and straightly

* De Rebus Hibernicis.

executed in all points within the said land, according to the effect of the same."

In 1496 the king having appointed his son, Henry Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and "greatly desiring," as the record states, "that in his absence and youth justice might in all particulars be administered in the right track, and confiding in the allegiance, diligence, integrity, conscience, experience, and learning of this Archbishop," appointed him Lord Chancellor of said kingdom, &c.* In the same year Fitz Simon held a provincial synod in the Church of the Holy Trinity, on which occasion an annual contribution for seven years was settled by the clergy of the province, to provide salaries for the lecturers of the university in St. Patrick's Cathedral.† On the 19th of May in the following year, he granted to John Alleyne, Dean of St. Patrick's, licence to build an hospital for the relief of the poor, and assigned to him a large space of ground in Kevin-street for that purpose, the archbishop reserving to himself and his successors full power of appropriating two beds within this receptacle; and all the poor therein lodged being required to pray for his soul, as a principal founder, and for the souls of the dean, his friends and successors, for ever. This establishment was not intended for the poor indiscriminately, but it was prescribed that those only should be admissible who were good Catholics, of

* Rymer's Fœdera. † Allen's Registry, f. 105.

honest conversation, without reproach, of English nation, and chiefly from the families of Allen, Barret, Begg, Hill, Dillon, and Rogers, settlers in the dioceses of Dublin and Meath ; and out of those classes the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's were to have the right of selection without fee or reward.*

On the 30th of the same month, Friar Denis White, who had for several years usurped the diocese of Glendalough, being old and infirm, surrendered it in the chapel house of St. Patrick's, Dublin, "being touched in conscience," as he confessed, "because the see of Glendalough had been united to that of Dublin from the reign of King John ;" and ever since that surrender the archbishops of Dublin have without interruption enjoyed the see. Yet it is to be remarked, that de Burgo† mentions the advancement of Doctor Francis de Corduba thereto by the Pope's permission. The history, however, of this latter diocese is not within the scope of these memoirs.

In 1508 Fitz Simon was deputy to Gerald Earl of Kildare, to whom he resigned the sword in the August of the same year. In 1507 he was instrumental in obtaining from the king a charter of incorporation for the carpenters, millers, heylers, and tilers of the metropolis; and in 1509 was again Lord Chancellor.

Having filled this see during twenty-seven years, he died on the 14th of May, 1511, at Finglas near

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* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 142. † Hib. Dom, p. 479.

Dublin, whence his body was conveyed to St. Patrick's Church, and there honourably interred in the nave: Harris characterizes him as a prelate of great gravity and learning, and of a graceful presence, able to strike those who beheld him with reverence; he adds, that after his death, Richard Skirret, Prior of Christ Church, according to custom, took the archiepiscopal cross into his custody, to be kept for the use of his successor.

WILLIAM ROKEBY.

[Succ. 1511. Ob. 1521.]

William Rokeby, the succeeding archbishop, was a native of a locality of the same name in Yorkshire, which Sir Walter Scott has, perhaps, yet more distinguished. He was a doctor of the canon law, and brother to Sir Richard Rokeby, Lord Treasurer of Ireland. The rudiments of his education are said to have been acquired at the school of Rotheram, whence he was removed to an ancient hostel for the reception of canonists in Aldgate parish, London. He was afterwards at Oxford, and, when very young, was presented by the monks of Lewes in 1487 to the rectory of Sandal, near Doncaster, his constant residence in which may be inferred from the attachment he appears to have felt for it, even choosing it for his burial-place, and for the celebration of those sacred rites which he directed should for ever attend his commemoration. At the close of the fifteenth century, he was by his former patrons, the monks of Lewes, nominated to the vicarage of Halifax, in Yorkshire;

in 1498 was constituted Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards advanced to the see of Meath, by Pope Julius the Second in 1507, whereupon he took his seat in the Privy Council. On the 5th of February, 1511, he was by the same Pope "released from the tie which bound him to Meath" and translated to this see, the temporalities of which were upon the 23rd of June following restored to him.

In January, 1514, disputes, which had for a long time existed between the successive Archbishops of Dublin and the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, relative to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were brought to a final compromise; the terms of which are fully set forth in Mr. Mason's valuable History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, (p. 143.) About the year 1515, Doctor Rokeby was made Chancellor of Ireland by King Henry the Eighth, an office which he seems to have filled during the remainder of his life. In 1518 he convened a provincial synod, whose canons are yet extant in the Red Book of the church of Ossory, and have been published thereout by Sir Henry Spelman.* They particularly enjoined the due examination of persons from Connaught and Ulster previous to admission to the priesthood; the payment of tithes, proxies, and burial dues; the discontinuance of tin chalices at the celebration of the Mass; the appraisement of the goods of intestates by two valuators appointed by the bishop; prohibited the disposal of the property of the Church by laymen without the con-

* Concilia, T. ii. p. 726.

currence of the clergy; the playing of football by clergymen, under the penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the ordinary, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the repair of the parish church; and directed that no lay exactions should be charged on glebes, except by royal authority. In the same year, this prelate confirmed the establishment of a college of clerks founded at Maynooth by Gerald Earl of Kildare, which he subsequently new modelled, having united the prebend to the mastership of the college, and the vicarage with the office of sub-master; and likewise added several rules for the government of the establishment.* In 1520 he was despatched by the Lord Deputy and Council to Waterford, "for the pacifying of such discords, debates, and variances, as existed betwixt the Earl of Desmond and Sir Piers Butler." "And right comfortable news it should be unto us," writes King Henry to his viceroy, alluding thereto, "to hear and understand of a good concord betwixt them, so that they, being so pacified, might with their puissances join and attend personally with and upon you, our lieutenant, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irish enemies . . . . . Now, at the beginning, politic practices may do more good than exploit of war, till such time as the strength of the Irish enemy shall be enfeebled and diminished, as well by getting their captains from them, as by putting division among them, so that they join not together."†

* Mason's St. Patrick's Cathedral, p. 144.

† State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII. vol. ii. p. 34.

Archbishop Rokeby died on the 29th of November, 1521, having a few hours previous to his decease given to every one belonging to the priory of Christ Church, a piece of silver, as "a testimony of his blessing and prayers." On the day of his decease, the archiepiscopal crosier was, according to custom, sent to the prior of Christ Church, to be kept during the vacancy of the see. His body was immediately after his decease sent over to England, according to the direction of his will made six days before his death; an abstract of which is given in the Athenæ Oxonienses. He therein styles himself Archbishop of Dublin, and perpetual vicar of Halifax, and orders that when dead he should be embowelled, and his bowels and heart buried in the church of Halifax, in the choir, and his body in his new chapel at Sandal, a fabric of singular beauty, and perhaps the most perfect existing specimen of what the sepulchral chapels of former times used to be; and he directed that therein a tomb of stone should be made, with a suitable inscription, and that also a chapel should be built at Halifax, on the south side of the church, under the inspection of his executors and the churchwardens, and that therein another tomb should be constructed, with his image and a similar inscription. "Item, whereas he had obtained an indulgence for the parish of Halifax, and the parishes thereunto adjoining, for eating white meats in Lent, he willed that his executors at their discretion should solicit for a renewal of the said licence *sub plumbo*, the profit thereof to be employed on a priest to sing at

Halifax, in his said new chapel, as long as may be by the advice and discretion of his executors and the church-wardens, and that a doctor of divinity have ten pounds to be occupied in preaching, &c." In pursuance of this will, his heart was buried in the chancel of the church of Halifax, and a stone laid over it, with the figure only of a heart engraved upon it. The chapel was likewise founded, and a cenotaph erected in it, on which is an inscription partly legible, stating all his preferments and the date of his death. A monument was also erected to his memory in the centre of the chapel of Sandal, wherein his earthly remains were deposited, according to the aforesaid provisions of his will.*

HUGH INGE.

[Succ. 1521. Ob. 1528.]

Hugh Inge, Doctor of Divinity, succeeded William Rokeby, twice by the Pope's appointment, first in Meath, and secondly on his translation thence to this dignity. He was born in Shepton Mallet in Somersetshire, educated in William of Wickham's school at Winchester, made perpetual Fellow of New College in Oxford in 1484, took his degrees there, and leaving it in 1496 travelled into foreign countries. On his return he was successively made prebendary of East Harptree, sub-chantor of the church of Wells, warden of Wapulham in the diocese of Lincoln, of

* Hunter's South Yorkshire, vol. i. p. 200.

Duttying in Somersetshire by the presentation of Richard the Abbot and the convent of Glastonbury, and of Weston, *alias* Sowey, by similar presentation. In 1504 he was in Rome, at which time he was one of King Henry's orators selected to take the renunciation of all prejudicial clauses in the apostolic bulls for the translation of Cardinal Hadrian to the sees of Bath and Wells, and his oaths of fealty and allegiance to that monarch. In April, 1511, he was incorporated Doctor of Divinity at Oxford while he was beyond sea, and in 1512 was appointed Bishop of Meath, a dignity which he filled during ten years.

In 1521 he succeeded Rokeby, and in 1522 was restored to all the profits of the see, the possessions of which in the county and city of Dublin were sought to be ascertained by an inquisition of the same year. In 1527 he was made Chancellor of Ireland, which office he administered to the day of his death, and wherein says Wood,* "he was accounted a person of great probity and justice;" while Polydore Virgil, who calls him Hugo Hynk, gives him the character of "an honest man, and one who by many good offices had got a great share of intimacy and familiarity with the Earl of Kildare;" and adds, that "he put the kingdom in as good condition as the untowardness of the wild Irish would suffer him." He repaired the palace of St. Sepulchre, as his arms (says Ware), placed in the wall over the palace door at the entrance from the public library, seem to testify,

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 732.

and, having governed this see during six years, he died in Dublin on the 3rd of August, 1528, and was buried in St. Patrick's church. The complaint, of which he died, was the sudor Anglicus, the first appearance of which distemper in these countries, together with its progress, ravages and cure, Polydore Virgil pathetically details.

JOHN ALLEN.

[Succ. 1528. Ob. 1534.]

John Allen, or Alan, as he writes his own name, Doctor of Laws and Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, succeeded, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 13th of March, 1528. He was educated at Oxford, whence he removed to Cambridge, where he took his degree of Bachelor of Laws. In 1507 he received the church of Sundrithe in the diocese of Kent. In 1510 was collated to that of Aldington in the same diocese, in which, on his promotion to the deanery of Riseburgh, in 1511, he was succeeded by the celebrated Erasmus. In 1515 he was made rector of South Oxyndon in Essex, which he resigned in 1526, but previous thereto was employed by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as his agent at Rome to conduct his negotiations and business with the Pope; he resided there nine years, and was created doctor of laws, either there or in some other university in Italy; and in 1525, while yet beyond the seas, was incorporated doctor of laws in Oxford. On his return he was made chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, Arch-

bishop of York, and commissary or judge of his legatine court, at which period he was accounted "the only match for Stephen Gardiner, another of Wolsey's chaplains, for avoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland."* Immediately previous, however, to that preferment, he was one of Wolsey's great abettors in procuring the dissolution of forty of the lesser monasteries, for the endowment of the cardinal's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, a project, which, as the learned Godwin, Bishop of Hereford, remarks, "like the gold of Tholouse, brought either destruction or some great calamity on all who touched it." "Two of them," he adds, "fought a duel, one was killed, and the other hanged, a third threw himself headlong into a well, a fourth, though a rich man, came after to beg his bread; Wolsey was thrown out of the king's favour and died miserably, and the Pope, who gave his consent to the dissolution, lived to see Rome taken and plundered by the Imperial army, himself and cardinals made prisoners, and become the sport and mockery of the licentious multitude." Wood is particularly severe upon this prelate for his unworthy and base dealing in the dissolution of Daventry priory in Northamptonshire.†

Indeed, the calmest and most impartial observer cannot recur to this period of history, without a feeling of horror at the consummation of royal robbery and sacrilege that attended it. The suppression of monasteries has cast a shadow through centuries that

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* Campion. † Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 742.

have ensued, and the empire, even yet, stands within its penumbra. Up to this period the extensive possessions of these ecclesiastical communities were devoted with an indiscriminate liberality, which, however political economists may censure, was, undoubtedly, universally designed for the benefit and relief of the people. The numerous parishes, that were annexed to their establishments (about one-fourth of the total in Ireland), were strangers to church rates and vestry assessments. An adequate proportion of their tithes was set apart for all the purposes, which afterwards became the pretext for these novel impositions. Rarely had they to contribute to the founding of churches, the building of hospitals, or the endowment of schools. They knew not the callous cancer of such a poor law system as succeeded them in the sister country. The magnificent evidences of monastic bounty are over the face of the land: the churches—the abbeys—the colleges—the schools—the hospitals—the alms-houses still powerfully record their generous consideration of all that could promote the honour of God, the stability of virtue, the encouragement of learning, the comfort of the sick, and the maintenance of the poor. Constantly residing in their convents, in the centre of their estates, the monks are acknowledged to have been the best and most indulgent landlords; they afforded a ready market for the produce of the vicinity, and expended their whole rents amongst their tenants. They fed the poor and the sick; they extended hospitality to the pilgrim and the stranger; they educated the

young and the fatherless; they dispensed to the aged and friendless the consolations of temporal and eternal refreshment; they introduced agriculture and manufactures; they fostered the nobler arts, and withal, they never shrunk from their responsibility, when the exigencies of the state and the people appealed to their treasury. By their obligation of celibacy and the other rules of their institution, they were withdrawn from that temptation—these motives for exaction and aggrandizement, which mingle with the best feelings of the fathers of families.

Suddenly, avarice and rapine were let loose upon them, their possessions were confiscated, and their pious acquisitions scattered abroad, their ornaments and furniture torn down, their libraries consumed, their houses unroofed, their churches disconsecrated. Perhaps, in all the range of calamities which human nature could incur, none can be imagined more strikingly affecting, than the dissolution of an abbey must have presented. How pathetically does the Roman historian describe the sufferings of the Albans, when they were driven from their ancient abodes, when their gates were broken down, and their walls laid prostrate, a licentious military rushing through their sanctuaries with fire and sword, and their own looks directed for the last time on the homes of their childhood and their happiness, while the crash, and smoke, and dust of the ruin burst upon their sight and their hearing. Yet, all these sufferings were endured by the unhomed monks; but the former were allowed to rescue some conso-

lations from the ruin; they had ties in life which survived the destruction of their city, they carried with them their wives and their little children, they could look in each other's face and weep their sympathy, ("conspectus aliorum mutuâ miseratione integrabat lachrymas"), and, amidst all their outcast wretchedness, the temples of their gods were spared; but the unfortunate exiles of the monastery saw the heaviest refinements of sacrilege levelled against the temples of the God of all, they felt the links of life, which in their circumstances are peculiarly local, severed at once, and yet more, they dared not murmur at the dispensation. They were driven forth, old and feeble, scattered and broken-hearted, over the country that had theretofore witnessed their hospitality and charity, and amidst the superadded groans and lamentations of those whom they had once cherished and succoured. The very charms of scenery, the habitudes of time, the long associations of piety, in a word all that was once attractive and endearing, became suddenly changed into bitterness and——ashes.

Their sufferings closed with a generation; the calamity, as it affected the country, has been fearfully perpetuated. "When the abbey lands," writes Hume, "were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management, the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce, the money was often spent in the capital, and the farmers living at a distance, were exposed to

oppressions from their new masters, or the still greater rapacity of their stewards." While, yet more, the legislative enactments, that were necessitated by the transfer of this property, sufficiently indicate the acknowledged duties of the old proprietors; church rates and vestry acts flourished, and, while in England a code of regulations for the relief of the poor sprung into instantaneous maturity, the needy and destitute of the Irish population were utterly consigned to the compassion of an already otherwise overburdened resident community.

The avowed and influential instrumentality of Allen in those disgraceful acts of spoliation may well justify the preceding remarks. It certainly so influenced the favour of Wolsey, that as well in gratitude for his services, as in jealousy and opposition to the Earl of Kildare, he effected his advancement in September, 1528, to this dignity. Allen in the same month had restitution of the temporalities of the see, and all the profits thereof from the death of his predecessor, without payment of the accustomed fines, and was likewise appointed Lord Chancellor. In 1529 (3rd of September) he was confirmed by the Pope in this see, and in 1530 held a consistory in Dublin, the statutes of which are preserved in the Black Book of Christ Church, where are also detailed the synodals and proxies then paid to this prelate. In said year he established rules for regulating his metropolitical court in St. Patrick's church, where it had been held from so early as the year

1220.* In 1531 Archbishop Allen, being still likewise Lord Chancellor, wrote a letter to Lord Crumwell, the following extracts from which may be interesting. "For the which your gentle manners I give you entire thanks, accordingly, no less now in heart, mouth, and writing, than I trust heretocome, if ever it fortune me to be able in deeds and acts effectually. In accomplishment whereof, and to the intent I may the sooner perform this my said unfeigned promise, I must instantly require you (*necessitas facit licitum quod alias est illicitum*), to move my sovereign lord, the king's good grace, to give unto me a prebend of £100 per annum, in commendam, to maintain the state that his highness hath called me unto, being primate of his Church in Ireland, and chancellor of the same, without my merits and by obedience, against my will truly. . . . . And here with us, I cannot have the forty mark fee of the chancellorship, now two years and a half past, nor yet such money as I laid out upon the king's letters, as well for ships and mariners' wages, as for reparation done on the king's chancery, also his castle. Sir, afore God, I desire none translation, nor any manner of benefice of cure, or yet of dignity, but only (if it might please the king's highness to have some compassion upon me) a prebend which should cause no murmur of absenty from thence, whereby I might keep a dozen yeomen archers in wages and livery, when I lie in the marches upon the church

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 146.

lands, to keep me in the king's service from his Irish enemies and English rebels. . . . . So knoweth God, who may send you (when I am out of half my debt) this next year, one hobby, one hawk, and one Limerick mantle, which three things be all the commodities for a gentleman's pleasure in these parties."*

In July, 1532, he was displaced from the chancery at the instance of Gerald Earl of Kildare, who, about the same time, was constituted deputy to Henry Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which afforded an additional incentive for reviving the old animosities between them, while the earl's use of power caused too many to sympathize with the archbishop's feelings. They communicated their apprehensions to each other, and at secret consultations, at which the removed chancellor always took the lead, resolved to represent what they deemed the misgovernment of Kildare to his royal master. Accordingly in 1533 this prelate was one of the Privy Council, who signed a full representation of what they deemed grievances in Irish government, with a prayer for their redress. This singular document deplores "the great decay of this land, which is so far fallen into misery, and brought into such ruin, that neither the English order, tongue, nor habit be used, nor the king's laws obeyed above twenty miles in compass;" and, amongst other articles, recommends "a resumption of the king's revenues from a certain

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

time hitherto, for by the importunate labours of those of this land, the king, and divers his noble progenitors have granted divers of them his revenues, so as now the remnant is little in effect, by means of which resumption, the subsidy and other things which, within three years, the deputy will get of Irishmen and otherwise, it is likely and, God willing, we doubt not there shall be revenues sufficient to maintain him without further charge to the king." It further advises "that all the lords and gentlemen within the four shires, that is to say, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel (Louth), be compelled to obey the king's laws and all others as nigh as may be."* It also deplores the immoderate taking of coin and livery without order after men's own sensual appetites. "Item, the black rents and tributes, which Irishmen by violence hath obtained of the king's subjects, is a great mischief, whereby they be enriched and strengthened and the others greatly enfeeblished; and yet, when the deputies go upon Irishmen by the aid of the king's subjects for redress of their nightly and daily robberies, they keep all they get to their own use, and restore nothing to the poor people. Item, another hurt is the committing the governance of this land to the lords natives of the same, and the often change of deputies." It also commented strongly on the negligences of the king's officers in keeping the records, their unskilful conduct in the exchequer, and above all impressed the necessity of sending to

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

the government of this country some loyal subject from the realm of England, whose sole object they considered should be the honour and interest of the crown, unconnected with Irish factions and uninfluenced by prepossession or prejudice. In the same year (1533) Archbishop Allen revived the old dispute concerning precedence with Primate Cromer, who had been in the previous year constituted Lord Chancellor on Allen's removal; the result, however, does not appear, and the immediately subsequent events put an end to all controversies concerning bearing the cross.

In the commencement of the year 1534, in the articles for the government of Ireland, it was "ordained by the king and his most honourable council, that the lands of the spiritualty and benefices to all common charges of the country shall contribute, as the lands of the temporalty are charged; and all lords and other persons of the spiritualty shall send companies to hostings and journeys in manner and form following:

"The Archbishop of Armagh, sixteen able archers or gunners, appointed for the war.
The Archbishop of Dublin, twenty.
&c. &c. &c."*

It was at this period that the Earl of Kildare, when summoned into England and directed to appoint a deputy, for whose loyalty he should be responsible, rashly selected for that high trust his eldest son

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

Thomas, (more popularly styled, from his luxurious apparel and gentle address, "the silken lord,") he being then a youth scarcely twenty years of age; the enemies of the Geraldine party, of whom this prelate was one, immediately perceived the combustible material upon which they could work, and, when Lord Thomas's father was, in fact, cast into the Tower of London, there to remain until he cleared himself from the suspicions and crimes laid to his charge, they spread rumours widely abroad, that the Earl had been beheaded in England, and that Lord Thomas himself, his brothers, and uncles were in danger of the same fate. The imprudent youth was too easily excited by these suggestions, and formally surrendering the sword and the insignia of vice-regal authority to the Lord Chancellor in St. Mary's Abbey, he broke out into open rebellion, gathering together a tumultuous mob of soldiers, laid siege to Dublin, and wasted the surrounding country with fire and sword. Archbishop Allen, with other lords and officers of state of his political opinions, affrighted at this convulsion, at first sought shelter in the castle under the protection of the constable, but, fearful of the result of the siege which Fitzgerald meditated against it, and reflecting that he of all others was most obnoxious to the rebels, the prelate took the resolution of flying into England, and actually embarked with that intent in a vessel from the adjacent haven at Dame's-Gate. By contrary winds, however, the carelessness of the sailors, or, what seems more probable, the treachery of the pilot, he was stranded near Clontarf, whence he

immediately hurried to the mansion of Mr. Hollywood of Artane, whose extensive hospitality he commemorates in his Repertorium Viride. On the way, however, he was intercepted, or as some insist, on the following morning was dragged out of the house of his entertainer, and there, "feeble for age and sickness, kneeling in his shirt and mantle, bequeathing his soul to God, his body to the traitors' mercy,"* he was, in the 58th year of his age, brutally murdered in the presence of Lord Thomas, on the 28th of July, 1534.

Ware characterizes him as a man of hospitality and learning, and a diligent inquirer into antiquities. He was the author of "Epistola de Pallii significatione activâ et passivâ," penned by him when he received the pall, as also of a work, entitled "De consuetudinibus ac statutis in tuitoriis causis observandis," and other works.† He likewise compiled the Liber Niger, a mine of antiquarian treasure as regards this diocese, and the Repertorium Viride, containing an account of the state of the churches thereof in his time, besides other ecclesiastical tracts. Immediately after his decease, Geoffrey Fyche, Dean of St. Patrick's, and William Hassard, Prior of the Holy Trinity, were appointed guardians of the spiritualities of the see, while Thomas Luttrel had a grant from the crown of the office of seneschal of all the courts,

* Campion. See further as to this event, "The History of the County of Dublin," at the locality of "Artane."

† Athenæ Oxon., v. i. c. 76.

crosses or liberties of the archbishopric, "sede vacante."

Divine vengeance (says Ware) was not slow to punish the murder of this archbishop; for, the flame of the rebellion being extinguished, Lord Thomas was sent in custody to London, and beheaded on the 3rd of February, 1536. Five of his uncles, as aiding and abetting in his conspiracy, were hanged at Tyburn, cut down half alive and quartered. Gerald, however, the young brother of Lord Thomas, who had been carried off to Italy, was by Edward the Sixth restored to the principal part of his estate, by Queen Mary to the ancient honours of his family, and by act of parliament, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, wholly relieved from the corruption of blood that was consequent on the attainder of his family.

GEORGE BROWNE.

[Succ. 1535. Depr. 1554.]

After a vacancy of a few months from the death of Archbishop Allen, George Browne, an Augustinian friar of London, provincial there of that order, and one distinguished by his preaching of the tenets of the Reformation, was elected to fill this see, on the king's especial recommendation, by the chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, and had the royal confirmation on the 12th of March, 1535. On the day following a mandate issued, commanding Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Rochester and Salisbury, to invest him with the pall

and other archiepiscopal insignia, according to an act then lately passed; and he having been thereupon consecrated on the 19th of the same month, a writ was on the 23rd directed to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, commanding him to issue his mandate to the escheators of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare, to restore the revenues of his see to this prelate; and on the same day, another writ issued to the escheator of the county of Stafford, to give up to him such temporalities of the archbishopric as lay within his bailiwick, being only the free chapel of Penkeris, before alluded to.

The rudiments of George Browne's education were received in the house of his order, near Holywell in Oxfordshire. In 1523 he supplicated for the degree of bachelor of divinity, but it does not appear that he was then admitted; having, however, afterwards taken the degree of doctor of divinity in some university beyond sea, he was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford in 1534, and subsequently at Cambridge.*

As might be expected from the complexion of his sermons in London, he at once avowed, on his promotion to this dignity, his profession of the tenets of the Reformation; and, accordingly, when Henry renounced the power and supremacy of Rome, the Lord Thomas Crumwell, then lord privy seal, and who exercised all the rights annexed to the king's supremacy under the title of vicar-general of England, wrote to

* Chalmers' Biog. Dict.

Browne, signifying from his highness, (then terming the king by that title), "that he was fallen absolutely from Rome in spiritual matters within his dominion of England, and how it was his royal will and pleasure to have his subjects there in Ireland to obey his commands as in England," nominating, at the same time, said George Browne "one of his commissioners for the execution thereof." This prelate's reply was communicated not long after in the following words:

"My most honoured lord, your humble servant, receiving your mandate as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother, Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his highness's supremacy, saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles, "insula sacra," belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome that gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Armagh and by that archbishop now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by act, for they do not much matter his highness's commission, which your lordship sent us over. This

island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders, and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared, O'Neill will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's order from the king's highness, for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies."*

The prelate's advice for convening a parliament was warmly approved of by the king: previous, however, to its assembling, Lord Leonard Grey, as Sir John Davis states, in order "to prepare the minds of the people to obey the laws, began forthwith a martial course, making a victorious circuit round about the kingdom. . . . . The principal septs of the Irishry being all terrified, and most of them broken on their journey; many of their chief lords, upon this deputy's return, came to Dublin and made their submission to the crown of England. . . . . This preparation being made, he first propounded and passed in parliament those laws, which made the great altera-

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

tion in the "state ecclesiastical." It met in 1537, and, after passing an act of attainder against the Earl of Kildare and the associates of his rebellious son, proceeded to adjust the right of succession to the crown of England and lordship of Ireland. It then pronounced the marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon to be clearly and absolutely against the laws of God, and utterly void and annihilated, and the sentence of separation by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be good and effectual; that, therefore, the marriage between his highness and his most dear and entirely beloved wife, Queen Anne, should be established true, sincere, and perfect ever hereafter, according to the just judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "confirmed as it was by the whole clergy of England, both the universities thereof, the universities of Bonogna, Padua, Paris, Orleans, Tholouse, Anjou, and divers others, and also, by the private writings of many right excellent well learned men." The inheritance of the crown was also by this assembly declared to be in the king and his heirs by Queen Anne, and it was pronounced high treason to oppose this line of succession, misprision of treason to slander it, and an oath of allegiance was prescribed to be taken by the subjects of Ireland, for its better and more universal enforcement. Yet, scarcely had this act been promulgated, when intelligence having arrived of the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and of the marriage of the king with the Lady Jane Seymour, the same legislators, with a tractability perfectly in unison with the wishes

of the sovereign and the sympathy of the English parliament, instantly repealed the above statute, and, by another, pronounced sentence of attainder on the late Queen, George Boleyn, Lord Rochfort, Henry Norris, Esq., Sir Francis Weston, William Bereton, and Mark Smeaton, who had been accused as accomplices in her alleged crimes. Both the former marriages were by this act declared null and void; the succession confirmed anew to the heirs of the king by Queen Jane; and, in default of such heirs, Henry was empowered to dispose of the inheritance of the crown of England and lordship of Ireland by letters patent or by will. With respect to the project of reformation, the king was declared supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland, with power to visit, repress, redress, reform, &c., all errors, heresies and abuses, &c., and to appoint a deputy for visiting, repressing, &c., same. All appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were abolished; the English law against slandering the king in consequence of these innovations, was enacted and confirmed in Ireland, the benefit of sanctuary taken away in such cases, the provisions made in England for the payment of first fruits to the king were adopted, and his highness was invested, not only with the first fruits of bishoprics and other secular promotions in the Church of Ireland, but with those of abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals. By another act the authority of "the Bishop of Rome" was more solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to præmunire; all officers of every kind and degree were directed to take the

oath of supremacy, and every person, who should refuse it, declared as in England guilty of high treason; all canons, constitutions, and dispensations, previously made, which were not repugnant to the laws of the prerogative, were, however, directed to be still used, but in the name of the king only, until order to the contrary; the twentieth part of the profits of all spiritual promotions were to be paid yearly to Henry, his heirs and successors for ever, and the chancellor was directed to inquire into the value thereof. All payment of pensions, and suing for dispensations, faculties, rescripts, &c., was utterly prohibited by adopting the English law made for this purpose, and accommodating it to Ireland. Thirteen religious establishments were suppressed, and the demesnes and possessions thereof vested in the crown, as were those of absentee proprietors by an arbitrary extension of ancient enactments. A statute of the same session enjoined, that spiritual promotions should be given only to such as could speak English, unless after four proclamations in the next market-town such could not be had; and that an oath should be administered to every person on admission to any dignity, benefice, &c., to keep "within the place, territory, or parish, where he shall have pre-eminence, rule, benefice, or promotion, a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary, as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken," and the administering and observing said oath was enforced by penalties.

Lastly, an act was passed prohibiting ecclesiastical proctors from being members of parliament, previous to which it appears, that two were returned to represent each diocese.

When the above act of supremacy was brought before this parliament, Archbishop Browne supported it most devotedly. "Behold," he said, "your obedience to your king is the observing of your God and Saviour Christ, for he, that High Priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar though no Christian, greater honour then surely is due to your prince's highness the king, and a Christian one. Rome and her bishops, in the Fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's own vicars; and it is much to the shame of the Bishop of Rome, to deny what the preceding bishops of that see owned." Adding, that he would himself, without scruple, guile of innocence, or sin to God, vote the king supreme over ecclesiastical, as well as temporal matters, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland, while he concluded with the characteristic argument, that he, who refused his assent to pass the act, could be no true subject of the king.* His address was seconded by Justice Brabazon, and the statute, although not without some difficulty, passed; but Primate Cromer, remaining steadfast to the Roman Catholic faith, opposed its execution, and raised such obstacles thereto, that, notwithstanding this parliamentary renunciation of the

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

Pope's, and acknowledgment of Henry's supremacy in matters of religion; and, although all public opposition was silenced in every place where the English power prevailed, yet, while this portion of the island was but very limited, the adherents to the Roman Catholic faith throughout the rest of Ireland became more zealous and more devoted.

This determined recusancy and opposition to the wishes of the intolerant monarch, did not sufficiently justify in his eyes the conduct of the prelate whom he had exalted, and to whom he accordingly wrote the following expostulation, in July, 1537. "Right Reverend father in God, truly and well beloved! We greet you well, signifying unto you, that whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye shewed an appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part, to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs as much as in you lay, and might appear to be our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue still in that your good purpose; yet, nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry ways and advertisements be informed, the good opinion that we had conceived of you is in manner utterly frustrate. For neither do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people

there in the word of God, nor frame yourself to stand us in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs, such is the lightness of your behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in 'we' and 'us,' in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself therefore with this gentle advertisement, and do first your duty towards God, in the due execution of your office, do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither from time to time of the state of the same, and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve to induce you to it, but, that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness, that ye cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound in all the points before touched to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able for the not doing thereof to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to prefer you, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession and our opinion conceived of you appertaineth."*

Seriously alarmed by such a letter from a so-

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

vereign, who deemed his lightest wish an incontrovertible command, the prelate replied on the 27th of September following. "May it please your most excellent highness to be advertised, that on the 11th day of September I received your most gracious letters, bearing date at your majesty's manor of Sunning-hill, the last day of July, which perused, did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body for fear of incurring your majesty's displeasure. And where your majesty writeth unto me, I have not endeavoured myself in setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, avoiding all superstition used against the honour of the same, I may signify unto your highness of a verity, that for my small abode here, there hath not these many years any my predecessors so much exercised in declaring to the people the only gospel of Christ, persuading and inducing the hearers unto the true meaning of the same, utterly despising the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, being a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here. Touching the second article in your grace's letters, concerning your majesty's affairs here, I refer me to judgment for the most part of your highness's council here, how in that behalf I have used myself, being the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth parts and first fruits, setting forth, in what me lay, the like first fruits of all monasteries being before not motioned. But given is it to this land, miserable of what behaviour or gesture so ever men be, to have maligners; yea, those that be of such

subtle nature, that of others' good proceedings themselves can find means to win the praises, which, if their doings were apparent, God knoweth right unworthy, that I beseech God, send once amongst us more charity. Concerning the third and last article of your grace's letters, that I should use writing 'we' and 'us,' I trust it hath not been seen in me, unless it were at such time, as I with my two chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, directed our humble letters unto your highness, subscribed with all our names, concerning the accomplishment of your grace's letters to the said chapters and me, addressed for electing the dean of St. Patrick's, which, if I did, most humbly beseech your highness to take it in good part, for assuredly, it was by remissness of the writer, and great oblivion of my foreseeing the same, submitting my negligence unto your grace upon my demeanour hereafter. Finally, certifying your majesty, that I received your grace's other letters, at this season to me addressed, on behalf of Edward Vaughan, the queen's gracious servant, the contents whereof I have fully accomplished. Beseeching your highness of your most accustomed goodness, to accept this my rude letter, answerable even as I were personally doing my duty, approaching on knees before your majesty, declaring the certainty of all the premises, with knowledging my ignorances, desiring of God, that hour or minute I should prefix myself to declare the gospel of Christ, after any other sort than of my part most unworthy have heretofore done before your majesty, in rebu-

king the papistical power, or in any other point concerning the advancement of your grace's affairs should not be prompt to set forth benignly, that the ground should open and swallow me. Certain sacramentaries there be here, which, indeed, I have spoken against, perceiving well, that I have been the more maligned at, beseeching the blessed Trinity to give them better grace, and that your grace may see redress, as, when it shall be your determinated pleasure, your majesty may. So knoweth God, who preserve your excellent highness in your regality long to persevere."*

Justly fearful of the tyrant he had bound himself to obey, and conscious how ineffective were all his exertions to introduce the tenets of the Reformation into the hearts of those, over whom he was appointed to preside, Archbishop Browne, on the succeeding 8th of January, writes as follows to Lord Crumwell: "Right honourable and my singular good lord, my bounden duty premised, it may please your lordship to be advertised, that within the parts of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore—yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin, and province of the same, where the king's power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent highness, through your good lordship's preferment, to make me, under his grace, a spiritual officer and chief over the clergy; yet, that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by

* State Papers, temp. Henry VIII.

oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet, before that our most dread sovereign was declared to be (as he ever was in deed) supreme head over the Church committed unto his princely cure, they, that then could and would very often, even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old sort and fashion, will not now once open their lips in any pulpit for the manifestation of the same; but in corners and such company as them liketh, hindereth and plucketh back amongst the people the labour that I do take in that behalf; and yet they be borne against me, and especially the observants, which be worst of all others; for I can neither make them swear, nor yet preach amongst us, so little regard they mine authority. And that cometh, so far as I can judge, of the extreme handling that my lord deputy hath used towards me, what by often imprisonment, and also expelling me my own house, keeping there no hospitality at all; and so contemptuously he vilipendeth me, that I take God to record I had, but that hope comforteth me, rather forsake all than to abide so many ignominious reproaches. But, if your lordship would, for the good love and mind that you bear unto the mere and sincere doctrine of God's word, and also unto the advancement and setting forward of our most excellent prince's right title, send either unto master treasurer, the chief justice, the master of the rolls, or

any two of them whom I think meet for that purpose, such a straight commandment over me and all other ecclesiastical persons, as I perceive the king's grace hath sent of late into England to the sheriffs of every shire, I would (God willing) so execute mine own office, and prick others forward that be underneath me, by the authority thereof, that his grace and your lordship should well allow my faithful heart and diligent service; for, until such a thing or more vehement come amongst us, it is but vain to look after any amendment here, but always expectation of the former abuses. And to prove the same, there is never an archbishop, nor bishop but myself made by the king, but he is repelled even now by provision. Again, for all that ever I could do, might I not make them once, but as I send my own servants to do it, to cancel out of the canon of the mass, or other books, the name of the Bishop of Rome, whereby your lordship may perceive, that my authority is little regarded. I have advertised your lordship divers times what inconvenience might fall for lack of dispensations; for, in that point they be compelled to sue to Rome. Wherefore, I think good that with all celerity and speed it were necessary that we had dispensations, a vicar general, and a master of the faculties. There is of late come into Ireland from Rome a pardon, much consonant to a pardon granted by Julius the Second, in time of the wars between the French king and him; and that was, that they, that would enjoy it, should fast Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, next after they heard first of it, and on the Sunday conse-

quently ensuing to receive the communion. And many, as it is reported, hath received the same; but if so traditorous a fact and like flagitious iniquities should pass, neither justly examined nor condignly punished, being committed while the king's grace's commissioners be here, seeing these men so ready and prompt to admit the Bishop of Rome's letter, and so sturdy and flinty against our prince's power, what will men think? I cannot, in my conscience, considering my oath and allegiance, let such enormities escape, but make just relation, that the king's majesty may have sure knowledge how unfaithful a sort he hath in this land, and namely, the spiritualty, which seduceth the rest. The living God knoweth my heart, who ever prosper your lordship with immortal felicity. Amen."*

While this letter eloquently evinces what little progress the Reformation had made under Doctor Browne's auspices, and that the inferior clergy had neither imbibed his spirit nor acceded to his measures, it does yet more plainly appear that he himself, up to this period, aimed at little more than the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy as the paramount measure of ecclesiastical improvement. The truth of this conclusion may be testified by his correspondence as detailed in this memoir, and yet more by the following instructions for praying in this diocese, or as they were styled "the form of the beads," issued and designed by this prelate for all the incum-

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

bents and curates thereof:—"You shall pray for the Universal Catholic Church, both quick and dead, and especially for the Church of England and Ireland. First for our Sovereign Lord the King, supreme head on earth immediate under God of the said Church of England and Ireland. And for the declaration of the truth thereof you shall understand, that the unlawful jurisdiction, power, and authority, of long time usurped by the Bishop of Rome in England and Ireland, who then was called Pope, is now by God's law justly, lawfully, and upon good grounds, reasons, and causes, by authority of parliament and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England or Ireland. In the which Church the said whole clergy, bishops, and prelates, with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, have, according to God's law and upon good and lawful reasons and grounds, acknowledged the king's highness to be supreme head on earth immediately under God of this Church of England and Ireland, which their knowledge confessed being now by parliament established, and by God's laws justifiable to be justly executed, so ought every true Christian subject of this land not only to acknowledge and obediently recognise the king's highness to be supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland; but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the same, and

to show unto them how that the said Bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped not only upon God, but also upon our princes. Wherefore and to the intent that ye should the better believe me herein, and take and receive the truth as ye ought to do, I declare this unto you not only of myself, which I know to be true, but also declare unto you that the same is certified unto me from the might of my ordinary, the Archbishop of Dublin, under his seal, which I have here ready to show you, so that now it appeareth plainly, that the said Bishop of Rome hath neither authority nor power in this land, nor never had by God's laws; therefore I exhort you all, that you deface him in all your primers and other books where he is named Pope, and that you shall have from henceforth no confidence nor trust in him nor in his bulls or letters of pardon, which before time with his juggling casts of binding and loosing he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefore forgiveness of your sins, where of truth no man can forgive sins but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you, but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that he is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that he died for our sins, and soforth, as it is contained in the Credo; and that through him and by him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, 'a pœnâ et culpâ,' according

to his promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture. On this part ye shall pray also for the prosperous estate of our young prince, prince Edward, with all other the king's issue and posterity, and for all archbishops and bishops, and especially for my lord archbishop of Dublin, and for all the clergy, and namely for all them that preacheth the word of God purely and sincerely. On the second part ye shall pray for all earls, barons, lords, and in especial for the estate of the right honourable Lord Leonard Gray, Lord Deputy of this land of Ireland, and for all them that be of the king's most honourable council, that God may put them in mind to give such counsel, that it may be to the pleasure of Almighty God and wealth of this land. Ye shall pray also for the mayor of this city and his brethren, with all the commonalty of the same, or for the parishioners of this parish, and generally for all the temporality. On the third part ye shall pray for the souls that be departed out of this world in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sleep in rest and peace, they may rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life. For those and for grace every man may say a Pater Noster and an Ave."*

At the close of the same year this prelate, as one of the king's council, despatched a letter commending to lord Crumwell's good offices Sir Edward Basnet, then a prebendary of St. Patrick's cathedral, and urging his Majesty to induce the then dean of St. Patrick's, Geoffrey Fyche, "being aged and impotent, and he

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

not able to defend the revenues of the same lying in the marches," to resign his dignity, in order that the preferment might be open for said Basnet, "a man meet and active for that intent and defence also of the country." In the same despatch he entreated the king to write "semblaby to the chapter, exhorting them upon such resignation made to elect such a person as their archbishop should name unto them, without expressing or making mention of the said Sir Edward in the same letter, least the chapter, being in manner all native of this land, and beforehand admonished that the intent was to have an Englishman preferred thereunto, would so consult together as the same should take no effect."* The opportune death of Dean Fyche in less than two months made the consummation of this disgraceful intrigue unnecessary, and Basnet was thereupon appointed his successor. That Crumwell's good service, however, was neither gratuitous, nor to be unrequited by this termination of the affair, is evinced by a letter of the vice-treasurer Brabazon to him, dated on the 24th of April following, in which, alluding to the remittance of money to Ireland, he desires his lordship "to detain £40 sterling for his lordship's good will in the preferment of his bedeman, Sir Edward Basnet, to the room of the dean of St. Patrick's here." Yet withal so unworthy was Basnet to be the object of this selection, that when King Henry resolved on the dissolution of St. Patrick's cathedral, he was the dean who, unlawfully

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

and by actual force and imprisonment of the members of the chapter, effected the surrender of all its revenues, estates, and possessions to the crown, circumstances that so inflamed the honest indignation of his successor, Dean Swift, that, writing on the back of one of the deeds connected with the transaction, he stiles him "the scoundrel who surrendered the deanery to that beast, Henry the Eighth."*

Early in the year 1538 he again communicated to Lord Crumwell his vexation of spirit at the ill success of the Irish Reformation. "Right honourable and my singular good lord, I acknowledge my bounden duty to your lordship's good will to me next to my Saviour Christ's for the place I now possess. I pray God give me his grace to execute the same to his glory and his highness's honour, with your lordship's instructions. The people of this nation are zealous yet blind and unknowing; most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant and not able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders; George, my brother of Armagh, doth underhand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute his highness's orders in his diocese. I have observed your lordship's letter of commission,

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 150.

and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing; I will not put others in their livings till I do know your lordship's pleasure, for it is meet I acquaint you first, that the Romish relics and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin took off the common people from the true worship, but the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain that they heed not my words. Therefore send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full and a chide to them and their canons that they might be removed. Let the order be that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call your lordship in their Irish tongue 'the blacksmith's son.' The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh and that clergy desired to assist them not to suffer his highness to alter church rules here in Ireland. As a friend I desire your lordship to look to your noble person, for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke, (for it is so talked here,) and will reward him and his children; Rome hath great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness, and so have they got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. God keep your lordship from your enemies here and in England.

Your lordship's at commandment, &c."* About the same time he wrote to the lord chancellor Allen the letter concerning the stations kept at St. John's well, as detailed in the History of the County of Dublin, p. 635; and another letter of his to lord Crumwell, relative to the suppression of the monasteries, and seeking a grant of that of Grace Dieu, with all its possessions, for himself, has been alluded to at that locality in the said work; while, in order better to testify his claims on royal favour, he about this time caused the before-mentioned images to be removed from Christ Church, and the celebrated relic called St. Patrick's staff, which had been carried off from the cathedral of Armagh in the twelfth century, and was from that time reverentially preserved in the former church, was by his direction publicly burned in High-street, Dublin.

Soon after the intelligence reached the Castle, that the Pope had sent over a bull of excommunication against all those who had theretofore or should thereafter maintain the king's supremacy, whereupon Archbishop Browne again wrote "To the lord privy seal with speed.—My lord, my duty premised, it may please your lordship to be advertised, since my last there has come to Armagh and his clergy a private commission from the Bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious highness's people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy, and joining a curse to all them and theirs

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

who shall not within forty days confess to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they have done amiss in so doing. The substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is—'I, *A. B.* from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome and his successors, in all things as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother Church of Rome or to the regality of St. Peter. I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the mother Church of Rome. I do likewise promise to confer, to defend, and promote, if not personally yet willingly as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome and her laws against all whatsoever resisting the same. I further vow to oppugn all heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the mother Church of Rome, and, in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power with the first conveniency and opportunity I can possibly. I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical powers of no force or worth, or to be practised or obeyed by myself or by any other son of the mother Church of Rome. I do further declare him or her, father or mother,

brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others nearest and dearest relations, friends, or acquaintance whatsoever accursed, that either do or shall hold for the time to come any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother Church, or that do or shall obey for the time to come any of her the mother of Churches' opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same of which I have here sworn unto. So God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists help, &c.' His highness' viceroy of this nation is of little power with the old natives, therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign power to assist and rule them, and now both English race and Irish race begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreign power to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a false prophet, yet your good lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write to your lordship as a warning.

"Your humble and true servant,

"*May*, 1538. "George Browne."*

On the following 24th of June, (1538), in the zealous exercise of his mission, this prelate seized a

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

Franciscan friar, named O'Brien, about whose person was found a letter, purporting to be from the Bishop of Meath to O'Neill, and couched in the following words: "My son, O'Neill, thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His holiness Paul, now Pope, and the council of the Cardinals there, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining of one St. Laserianus, an Irish Bishop of Cashel, wherein he saith, 'that the mother Church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome;' therefore, for the glory of the mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness's enemies; for, when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also; therefore, the council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland, as a sacred island, being certified, whilst the mother Church hath a son of worth, as yourself, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate. Thus, having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the heavenly host of heaven. Amen."* On further examination and searches made, but which elicited no other evidence of guilt, this friar was pilloried and sentenced to imprisonment, until his highness's full order should be received for his trial; but, be-

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

fore any such intimation arrived, he was found dead in his prison, having, as it was industriously alleged, been accessary to his own decease; the corse, however, was carried to the Gallows-green, there suspended, and afterwards buried.

Leland asserts, that O'Neill, immediately upon this commission, placed himself at the head of the northern Irish, "declared war against the invaders of the Papal rights, led his forces through the territories of Meath, denouncing the terrors of his princely vengeance against all the enemies of religion, and committing various excesses without control or resistance, and, advancing to Tara, reviewed his troops, with an ostentatious display of their numbers and prowess." "But these champions of the Church," he adds, "exhausted all their zeal in this vain-glorious defiance of English government. Instead of proceeding in any well concerted scheme of hostilities, they seemed contented with the havoc they had made, and the prey they had collected, and marched back in triumph towards their own settlements."* Whatever obscurity is thrown over the designs and actions of O'Neill, the re-action of hostility was certainly more clearly evinced. The Lord Deputy harassed the retreat of the fugitives, gave them battle at the pass of Bellahoe, and slew four hundred of their number. Nor did this suffice, as appears from a despatch of Lord Grey soon afterwards, wherein he says, "If my guides had guided right, I had

* Leland's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 179.

taken or slain O'Neill; howbeit the guides missed the way, so that the day broke up when I was within five miles of the said Dungannon, and then I fell to preying and burning of his country, and so continued six days after, burning and destroying, during which time I and my company lacked no flesh, but bread, and drink except water, was scarce."* In vain did the unfortunate O'Neill appeal to his king, accusing the deputy of waging this war for his private gain, and offering to restrain all the Northern Irish, if his Majesty would but relieve him and them from the extortions of his viceroy;† but this is matter beyond the track of these memoirs, and must be avoided.

Returning therefore to the archbishop. At the close of the year 1538, "on New Year's Day, at Kilkenny, he preached the word of God, having very good audience, publishing the king's injunctions and the king's translation of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, the Articles of the Faith and Ten Commandments in English, divers papers whereof the council delivered to the bishop and other prelates of the diocese, commanding them to do the like through all their jurisdictions."‡ About this time a new taxation took place of the dignities and benefices within the see of Dublin, in which the archbishopric was rated at £534 15*s.* 2½*d.* Irish, and other dignities and benefices were charged anew, on different scales and

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

principles of assessment from what had been formerly appointed.

In 1540, Browne was one of the council who advised his majesty to assume the title of King of Ireland. "Forasmuch as your majesty hath exhausted so great treasure for the reducing of this poor land to good order and civility, we think that if it may so stand with your majesty's pleasure, that it were good that your majesty were from henceforth called King of Ireland; whereunto we think, that in effect, all the nobility and other inhabitants of this your land would agree, and we think that they that be of the Irishry would more gladly obey your highness by name of king of this your land, than by the name of lord thereof; having had heretofore a foolish opinion amongst them, that the Bishop of Rome should be king of the same. For extirping whereof, we think it meet, under your highness's pardon, that by authority of parliament it should be ordained, that your majesty, your heirs and successors, should be named kings of this land, which, nevertheless, we remit to your most excellent wisdom."* At the close of the same year, when the Lord Deputy St. Leger journeyed to meet the Earl of Desmond at Cashel, this prelate was sent as one of the pledges and hostages which that nobleman required, as the guarantee of his safety, before he would place himself within the English lines.†

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* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII. † Ib.

In 1541 he was one of the archbishops who sat in the parliament, that met in accordance with his advice and established Henry's title of King of Ireland, as communicated in the following despatch of the Lord Deputy Saint Leger. "According my most humble and obedient duty, it may please your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that the morrow after Trinity Sunday your highness's parliament begun in this your highness's realm, and for that, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and many other lords of Munster were not then come, we deferred the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost till the Thursday following, being Corpus Christi day The said earls, with divers other Lords of Munster, as the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, the Lord Fitz Maurice, the Lord Bermingham, and Magill-Patrick, now made by your highness Baron of Upper Ossory, came the Tuesday, and were all present at the said mass, the most part of them in their robes, and rode in procession in such sort, as the like thereof hath not been seen here of many years. And the Friday following, being assembled in the place of parliament accustomed, the commons presented unto us their speaker, one Sir Thomas Cusack, a man that right painfully hath served your majesty at all times, who made a right solemn proposition in giving such laud and praise to your majesty, as justly and most worthily your majesty hath merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome out of this your realm, who had of many years been a great robber and destroyer of the same, as also for your

innumerable benefits showed unto your realms and subjects of the same, which proposition was right well and prudently answered by your highness's chancellor here; and after, both the effect of the proposition and answer was briefly and prudently declared in the Irish tongue to the said lords, by the mouth of the Earl of Ormonde, greatly to their contentation. And that done, and the said speaker and commons withdrawn, it was by me your poor servant proposed, that forasmuch as your majesty had always been the only protecter and defender under God of this realm, that it was most meet, that your majesty and your heirs should from thenceforth be named and called king of the same, and caused the bill devised for the same to be read, which once being read and declared to them in Irish, all the whole house most willingly and joyously condescended and agreed to the same, and being three times read, and with one voice agreed, we sent the same to the lower house, wherein likewise it passed with no less joy and willing consent. And upon the Saturday following, the same bill being read in plain parliament before the lords and commons, it was by me your most humble servant most joyously consented, no less to my comfort, than to be again risen from life to death, that I so poor a wretch should by your excellent goodness be put to that honour, that in my time your majesty should most worthily have another imperial crown. I most humbly beseech Almighty God long to continue your majesty in the honour he hath hitherto maintained you in. There was at the

same consent two earls, three viscounts, sixteen barons, two archbishops, twelve bishops, Donogh O'Brien, and the Doctor O'Nolan, and a bishop, deputies assigned by the great O'Brien, to be for him in the parliament, the great O'Reilly, with many other Irish captains, and the common house, wherein are divers knights, and many gentlemen of fair possessions. And for that the thing passed so joyously, and so much to the contentation of every person, the Sunday following there were made in the city great bonfires, wine set in the streets, great feastings in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns; and for that all men should have the more cause to rejoice, I with others of your majesty's council thought it good, that all prisoners, not lying at suit of any party for debt or such like, should be freely delivered out of the prisons wherein they were, unless it were for treason, wilful murder, rape, or debt. And the said Sunday all your lords and gentlemen rode to your church of St. Patrick's, where was sung a solemn mass by the Archbishop of Dublin, and after the mass the said act proclaimed there in the presence of 2000 persons, and Te Deum sung with great gladness and joy to all men. And for because my riches is small, I have sent your majesty a poor pair of gloves of silk, beseeching your majesty to accept the same, so simple a present, as of him that would as gladly present you with the empire of the whole world, if it were in him to give. Beseeching Almighty God to send your excellent majesty no less honours, than the most honourable that ever

reigned in earth. From your grace's manor of Kilmainham," &c.*

In this parliament it was further enacted, that "all religious persons, as well men as women professed of what order, rule, or habit they were," might, after the then contemplated suppression of the abbeys, &c., to which they belonged, purchase lands, &c., as though they had never been professed, and sue and be sued as other subjects, and enjoy all lawful things in like manner; provided, however, that they should not take or claim lands, &c., as heirs to any person, nor marry, unless on proof that their vows of profession were taken by compulsion. Provision was also made for the erecting of vicarages in parish churches, and endowing them with a proper proportion of lands and tithes "for the maintenance of divine service, and keeping good hospitality within their said parishes," reserving to the king yearly the twentieth part and first fruits on every presentation, and the patronage. In the second session of the same parliament, the monasteries and other religious houses were formally suppressed, and the abbots and priors, who had been induced to make what were absurdly termed voluntary surrenders of their houses and possessions, of whom twenty-four were lords of parliament, were pensioned by the king. But in the remoter parts of the island, the order for their dissolution was disregarded, and in a great portion of the country they existed for half a

* State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

century longer. Sir John Davis bears testimony to the fact, that "the abbeys and religious houses in Tyrone, Donegal, and Fermanagh were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons" until the reign of James the First, and even the sees of Ulster were wholly filled by the Pope's provision until 1605. In the same year (1541) King Henry the Eighth changed the priory of the Holy Trinity, on its suppression as a monastic establishment, into a deanery and chapter, since which it has generally borne the name of Christ Church. In this new constitution, as it appears upon record, the cathedral was to consist of a dean and chapter, a chantor, a treasurer, six vicars choral, and two singing boys, allowing to them £45 6*s*. 8*d*. English, during pleasure, which sum Queen Mary established for ever, when she confirmed the deanery with alterations, and so it continued until the time of King James the First. It is observable, that, on the change above alluded to, the last prior became the first dean.

In 1542 an inquisition was taken of the possessions of this see in the county and city of Dublin, at which time the king wrote to the Privy Council of Ireland, "shewing them the necessity of providing good and faithful pastors through the diocese of Dublin, for instructing the people in the duties of religion, and no less in obedience to these new laws, which every day restored to them more and more of their Christian liberty, and promoted trade and in-

dustry through the whole kingdom."* In the following year, a contest, which had depended between this prelate and Sir Christopher, Lord of Howth, concerning the right, title, and inheritance of Ireland's Eye, was decided by the Lord Chancellor, in favour of the archbishop and his successors.† In 1544 this prelate erected three prebends in Christ Church, St. Michael's, St. Michan's and St. John's, and assigned to each of the prebendaries a pension and a church for the corps of their prebends. He also, about the same time, united the chapel of St. Mary Les Dames and the church of St. Andrew to St. Werburgh's within the walls, "in regard there were so few parishioners, and the income so small, that there was not sufficient to maintain a clergyman;" and in the following year he obtained a licence to unite the church of St. John's of Kilmainham and St. James's church without the suburbs of Dublin, to that of St. Catherine within the suburbs. By deed of the 12th of July, 1545, this prelate, in consideration of £40, conveyed to trustees the town of Rathlande, and sixty acres of arable land in the village and fields of Rathlande, being on the southern part of Thomas-Court wood, then lately occupied by Thomas Bathe; also, all the lands, &c., in Rathlande aforesaid, and the rents and reversions of the same, to hold for ever, to the use of William Brabazon, ancestor of the Earl of Meath, his heirs and assigns, at the

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 149. † Rot. in Canc. Hib.

yearly rent of 13*s.* 4*d.*,* being the site of that wretched district of paupers, now denominated the Earl of Meath's Liberties. At the close of the year 1546, on the dissolution of the cathedral of St. Patrick's, another partial valuation was made of sundry dignities and benefices in this diocese.

Edward the Sixth, immediately on his accession, by the advice of his council, "altered the Liturgy book from what King Henry had formerly printed and established, causing the same to be printed in English, commanding it to be read and sung in the several cathedrals and parish churches of England for the common benefit of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty; and, that his subjects of Ireland might likewise participate of the same sweetness, he sent over orders, (yet, not until the fourth year of his reign), to his viceroy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, then being Lord Deputy of that nation, that the same be forthwith there in Ireland observed within their several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish churches, which was first observed in Christ Church, at Dublin, on the feast of Easter, 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, George Browne, and the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin, John Lockwood being then dean of the said cathedral."† The amended Liturgy was thereupon partially promulgated in this country, with rules annexed for ecclesiastical habits and ceremonies. It is further worthy of remark, that this was the first book printed in Ireland, its printer, Humphrey Powell,

* Rot. Pat. 12th July, 36 Hen. VIII. † Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

having come over from England in the same year in which it appeared, with the paramount object of its publication. Before, however, any state manifesto was sent forth on the subject, an assembly was held in Dublin, consisting of the prelates and clergy of Ireland, when Archbishop George Dowdal of Armagh, and his suffragans, vehemently opposed the innovation. "Sir Anthony St. Leger then took up the order, and held it forth to Archbishop Browne, who, standing up, received it, saying, 'This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done, unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no questions why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king.' After this several of the meeker or most moderate of the bishops and clergy of Ireland cohered with George Browne;"* who, in furtherance of the royal object, preached upon this occasion a sermon against keeping the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and against the worship of images. It is printed at the end of his life, and is the only part of his writings extant, except the before mentioned letters. In this he particularly inveighed against the Jesuits.

Saint Leger was soon afterwards succeeded by Sir James Crofts, "who, on his coming over, endeavoured much for the persuading of George Dowdal

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

to adhere to the order aforesaid; but Dowdal being obdurate, his majesty and the learned privy council then of England, for his perverseness, upon the 20th of October following, deprived him of the title of Primate of all Ireland, and conferred the same on Archbishop Browne and his successors, by reason that he was the first of the Irish bishops, who embraced the order for establishing of the English Liturgy and Reformation in Ireland."* Leland and others more fully detail, that when the deputy requested Dowdal to appoint a place, where "he might conveniently have an opportunity of appeasing wrath between the fathers of the church and his grace," the primate complied, though he declined appearing at the palace, and at the same time, expressed his apprehensions of the inutility of the proposed conference. 'I fear,' he said, 'that it is in vain for me to converse with an obstinate number of churchmen, and in vain for your lordship to suppose the difference between us can be so soon appeased, as our judgments, opinions, and consciences are so different.' But, Sir James, anxious to secure the co-operation of one, who held the highest station in the Irish Church, appointed the conference to be held at the temporary residence of Dowdal, where Staples, Bishop of Meath, advocated the principles of the Reformation, while the primate maintained those of the Roman Catholic faith. Like all similar discussions, however, the conference terminated without effecting any change in the sentiments of either

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

party; both, indeed, retired more firmly devoted to their previous professions.

In 1552 inquisitions were taken concerning the possessions of this see within the city and county of Dublin. In the following year, on the accession of Queen Mary, she obliged Browne to surrender his patent of the primacy, and to deliver it cancelled into the Chancery, where a *vacat* remains upon it on record; and upon the 12th of October, in the same year, she passed new letters patent under the great seal, whereby she re-established the title and office of the primacy of all Ireland in the see of Armagh, for ever, according to ancient usage. "We restore," says she, "to Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, the primacy of all Ireland, which your predecessors, beyond the memory of man, have been known to have held, and we confirm to you for ever the same, commanding that all other archbishops and bishops shall pay obedience to the primates in the exercise of their primatial office."* From which period the pre-eminence has remained firm and undisputed in Armagh, without any revocation either by Queen Elizabeth or any of her successors.

Very soon afterwards, about the close of the year 1554, Archbishop Browne was, by primate Dowdal and other delegates expelled and driven from his see as being a married man; "and it is thought," (adds the historian of the transaction with much simplicity,) "had he not been married he had been expelled,

* Ware's Bishops, p. 78.

having appeared so much for the Reformation in both these former kings' days. On his expulsion, all the temporalities belonging to the archbishopric were committed to Thomas Lockwood, then Dean of Christ Church. The precise period at which Browne died has not been ascertained, but it has been most commonly referred to the year 1556. The see continued vacant until, a licence having issued on the 22nd of February, 1555, from King Philip and Queen Mary to proceed to the election of a successor, Hugh Curwen was advanced to the dignity.

HUGH CURWEN.

[Succ. 1555. Resign. 1567.]

Archbishop Curwen was a native of Westmoreland, and of a family who claimed descent from Gospatric Earl of Northumberland, but assumed the name of Curwen from a locality so denominated in the district of Galloway. This original appellation was first altered by Sir Christopher de Culwen, who was twice sheriff of Cumberland by that title, and once by the name of Curwen. His descendant, the subject of the present memoir, was doctor of laws, Dean of Hereford in 1541, and by some said to have been also Archdeacon of Oxford; but Wood, in the "Athenæ Oxonienses," denies the latter of these promotions, and says it was a Richard Curwen who was Archdeacon of Oxford, and not this Hugh. Queen Mary's letter, under her privy signet to the dean and chapter of Christ Church for his election,

dated the 18th of February, in the first and second year of her reign, is preserved in the chapter house of that cathedral, and appears signed on the top in her own handwriting "Marye the Queene;" yet was it not until the 8th of September following that he was consecrated according to the Roman pontifical in St. Paul's Church, London, together with James Turberville, Bishop of Exeter, and William Glynn, bishop of Bangor, and four days after was at Greenwich appointed by Queen Mary (whose chaplain he was) chancellor of Ireland. On the 25th of the same month she wrote to the dean and chapter of Christ Church to receive him honourably and with due respect, announcing that he was repairing "to reside upon the cure of his bishopric, which now of long time hath been destitute of a Catholic bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm."* Accordingly, on the 20th of October following he took possession of his see, on the next day was restored to its temporalities, and on the third took the oath of office before the lord deputy and council. Immediately after his elevation he resigned his deanery of Hereford, but in a month resumed and retained it until the year 1558. A letter yet extant thus alludes to his first sermon. "The Archbishop of Dublin did preach his first sermon that he made in this land in Christ Church, and did set forth the word of God sincerely in his sermon and after such a sort, that those men, who be

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

learned and unlearned, both do give him as high praise as I have heard given to any one man, so that those men who favour the word of God are very glad of him and prayeth for him so to continue." At the close of this the first year of his advancement he held a provincial synod, in which many constitutions were made respecting the ceremonies of divine worship.

In 1556 the Earl of Sussex, on the occasion of his being appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, proceeded to St. Patrick's cathedral, "nobly accompanied, and was received at the church door by Archbishop Curwen under a canopy of state, that prelate being arrayed in his pontificals, and the clergy in rich copes; there kneeling he was censed, and, having kissed the cross, received the blessing of the archbishop, after which he proceeded towards the high altar, where he continued kneeling, while the hymn 'Te Deum' was singing. He was there censed a second time and blessed, and service was performed by the archbishop, after which the deputy arose from his place, proceeded to the altar, and, having kneeled there for a certain space of time, offered a piece of gold, after which ceremony he dined with the archbishop."* In the same year, commissioners were appointed to take account of all lands or tenements, all plate, bells, and other utensils, or sums of money, which lately had belonged to the churches or chapels of this diocese; and to inquire into the state of such churches and chapels as were ruinous, and to

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 163.

report by whose fault they became so. Similar commissions were issued for the other dioceses of Ireland.* At this time likewise, the act was passed (3 & 4 Phill. & Mary, c. 8), repealing all statutes and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, from the time of the twentieth year of Henry VIII., so far as the acts of such see should not be prejudicial to authority royal, or the laws in force. Other statutes of the same session revived all former acts passed for the punishment of heresies, renounced the enjoyment by the crown of first fruits, rectories, glebes, &c., and assigned such, as had come to the queen, for the augmentation of poor benefices.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Curwen accommodated his conduct and conscience to the policy of his new sovereign, and her liberal favour was his recompence. In November, 1557, he was constituted one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in conjunction with Sir Henry Sydney, and, in the following year, as Chancellor, received from the hands of that nobleman a new great seal of Ireland, while similar new seals were on the same occasion given to the principal judges of the other courts.† In June, 1559, he was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland, took the oath of office on the 8th of August following, and, in the same year, was joined in a commission for mustering the inhabitants of the county of Dublin. He was one of the spiritual lords, who sat in the parliament of 1560, at which the Act of Uniformity was passed, as particularly mentioned in "The History

* Rolls in Chancery. † Borlase's Reduction of Ireland, p. 121.

of the County of Dublin," at the locality of Corduff. In that parliament were also passed the act restoring to the crown the "ancient jurisdiction" over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same; the "act for the conferring and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm," whereby, forasmuch as their election by deans and chapters was declared to cause long delay and great charges to such prelates, and to be derogatory to the queen's prerogative, it was enacted, that thenceforth the queen, her heirs and successors, or the Lord Deputy, might by letters patent collate fit persons to the same, whereupon the said persons might be consecrated, as if all former ceremonies and elections had been done; and have, thereupon, all possessions, profits, jurisdictions, dignities, &c., as former bishops.

In 1562 the Queen sent an order requiring all persons to assist the proctors of St. Patrick's cathedral in collecting honey, fruit, and other things, which had been paid from the earliest period of time from all parts of the province to the dean and chapter of that church; these, being either duties reserved in their leases, or benefactions of the pious in ancient times, were to be applied to the repair of the church, which during the suppression had fallen much into decay. The proctors were, however, strictly prohibited from carrying about with them any pastoral staff, crucifix, mass-book,* &c. In 1563 Archbishop

* Rot. in Canc. Hib.

Curwen was again constituted Lord Chancellor, and an original letter of his, bearing date in June of the following year, to the Earl of Sussex, deprecating the erection of St. Patrick's, Dublin, into a university, is extant amongst the Cottonian manuscripts. In 1567, beginning to sink under the infirmities of old age, he procured his translation to Oxford, and having spent one year in that see, died at Swinbroch, near Burford, in the parish church of which he was buried on the first of November, 1568. Yet it is observable that, neither in the grant of the royal assent for this prelate's removal to Oxford, nor of his restitution to its temporalities, is any notice taken of his having previously been Archbishop of Dublin.

ADAM LOFTUS.

[Succ. 1567. Ob. 1605.]

Adam Loftus was born at Swinshead, in Yorkshire, the youngest son of an ancient and wealthy family, who contributed a more than ordinary allowance for his support and education at the university of Cambridge. During his course there, he, on the occasion of a public exhibition, so well performed his part as a florid orator and subtle disputant, and withal presented such a comely person and courtly address, as to attract the notice of Queen Elizabeth, who encouraged him to proceed in his studies, with a gracious promise of early promotion, which she soon afterwards verified by sending him into Ireland as chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, on his appointment to

the government of that country. So early and effectively was the royal eye attracted by the courtier clerk, that on the 8th of October, 1561, he obtained letters patent for the rectory of Painstown, in the diocese of Meath; and having been, in 1562, at the very early age of 28, appointed to succeed Archbishop Dowdal in the see of Armagh, he was consecrated by Hugh Archbishop of Dublin about the close of that year. In consequence of which, as Harris remarks, "the Irish Protestant bishops derive their succession through him, without any pretence of blemish or open for cavil, for he was consecrated by Curwen, who had been consecrated in England according to the forms of the Roman pontifical, in the third year of Queen Mary."*

In 1564 he was elected Dean of St. Patrick's, the Queen giving her licence for his holding that dignity with the primacy, "his archbishopric being a place of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it."† In 1566, when O'Neill destroyed the city and cathedral of Armagh by force, Primate Loftus directed against him "the spiritual weapon of excommunication, pronounced not only by himself, but by all the clergy of his diocese," the Irish chieftain, however, utterly disregarded his ecclesiastical denunciations.‡ At the close of that year Loftus took his degree of doctor of divinity at Cambridge, and

* Ware's Bishops, p. 94. † Rot. in Canc. Hib.
‡ Ware's Annals of Elizabeth, c. 9.

on the 8th of August, 1567, was appointed to this see, which being then deemed more valuable he accepted, and also, in obedience to the queen's letter of the 10th of June preceding, resigned the deanery of St. Patrick's, to the end that Doctor Weston, the newly appointed Chancellor of the realm, might be endowed with that dignity.

In 1568 this prelate, supported by the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, consecrated Doctor Lancaster (who had been treasurer of Salisbury and chaplain to the queen) as his own successor in Armagh; the ceremony was performed in Christ Church cathedral. In 1570 was passed the act directing that a free school should be kept in every diocese, in the principal shire town of the see, at the cost of the whole diocese; the ordinary of each to pay one third of the master's salary, and the parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons of the see the other two parts, by contributions to be settled by the ordinary; nor were church livings in the possession of the crown exempted from this assessment, but on the contrary, lest any construction of the royal prerogative should lessen the fund for this national object, such livings were expressly charged thereto in the hands of the queen or her patentees. In May, 1572, her majesty, on a representation of the poverty of the see of Dublin, was induced to grant to Doctor Loftus a dispensation to hold with his archbishopric any comfortable sinecures not exceeding £100 per annum in value, a licence of which this prelate very fully availed himself. In the following year he also obtained the chancellorship, with all its patronage and emolu-

ments, which office he enjoyed (with the intermission of a few months) to the time of his decease. Harris indeed, in his notice of this prelate, affords at the following year of his life the most striking note of "the excessive ambition and avarice" by which, as he admits, his better qualities were tarnished. "For besides his promotions in the Church and his public employments in the State, he grasped at every thing that became void, either for himself or family, insomuch that the dean and chapter of Christ Church were so wearied with his importunities, that on the 28th of August, 1578, upon granting him some request, they obliged him to promise not to petition or become suitor to them for any advowson of any prebend or living, nor for any lease of any benefice, nor for any fee farm. But, when an entry of this promise came to be made in the chapter books in his presence, he would have thrust in an exception of one petition more and no more, which the dean and chapter would not consent to, being, as they alleged in that entry, contrary to his lordship's promise made in the chapter house. However this disposition of his was afterwards of service, in preserving the ancient cathedral of St. Patrick's from being dissolved and converted into a university. For being greatly interested in the livings of that church, by long leases and other estates thereof granted either to himself, his children or kinsmen, he opposed Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, in his attempt of converting the revenues thereof to the uses aforesaid," a circumstance which ultimately led to Perrot's unhappy fate.

In 1582 Loftus was one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and again in 1585. In 1583 he was the unjust judge that illegally sentenced the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Dermot Hurley, to the cruelties of death on Osmantown-green. See fully on this event, "The History of the County of Dublin," p. 518. "In 1585 Sir John Perrot made a journey to the north, and left Archbishop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop Lords Justices during his absence. His back was no sooner turned, but they wrote letters of complaint against him to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, which, with the insinuations of Sir Jeffrey Fenton, then in England, to the queen, proved the first dawnings of Perrot's troubles. The same year great unkindnesses burst out between the Lord Deputy Perrot and Archbishop Loftus, partly upon public accounts, and chiefly concerning St. Patrick's Church, which the lord deputy had in his instructions to convert to a college, and had a great desire to set it forward, but Archbishop Loftus opposed him, being interested in the livings of St. Patrick's by long leases, and other estates thereof, granted either to himself, his children or kinsmen, and, therefore, did by all means withstand the alienation of these revenues, and, being a man of a high spirit and used to bear sway in the government, he grew into contradiction, and from contradiction to contention with the deputy, who, on the other side brooking no opposition, it grew to some heat between them; whereof the queen taking notice wrote to them both to reconcile themselves together. But the

archbishop stuck to him to the last, and was a main instrument in bringing him to his condemnation; and Perrot in his last will solemnly testified that the archbishop falsely belied him in his declaration against him."* The ill-fated ex-deputy was found guilty of the charges urged against him, and only escaped from public execution by a more sudden visitation of death in his prison at the tower. In 1589 Doctor Loftus drew still more upon the munificence of his sovereign, and acquired a grant of "the office of the prerogative" to him, and Doctor Ambrose Forth, and the survivor of them.†

Although he, as before mentioned, successfully resisted the conversion of his church into a university, yet was he a zealous promoter of that which now exists in the city of Dublin, by employing his interest and good offices in its behalf with Queen Elizabeth, and with many men of power in England; he also, by two elaborate speeches, delivered in the hearing of the mayor, aldermen, and commons of Dublin, prevailed upon that body to endow the infant establishment. "An act," said the prelate, "of good acceptance with God, of great reward hereafter, and of honour and advantage to yourselves, and more to your learned offspring in the future; where by the help of learning they may build your families some stories higher than they are, by their advancement either in the Church or the commonwealth." His persuasions were effective, the proposal was embraced, and the monastery of All Hallows, in the immediate

* Perrot's Life. † Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.

vicinity of the city, was, with all its precincts, granted for the foundation. Doctor Loftus thereupon employed Henry Ussher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, to solicit the queen for her royal charter, and a mortmain licence for the land so granted; the emissary was successful, and soon returned with a warrant, dated the 29th day of December, 1591, authorizing the incorporation of a university, with the power of holding the granted lands, and any others that might be obtained, to the amount of £400 yearly value, which concession was followed by a regular charter, whereby the college was erected as mother of a university, by the style of "The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin;" to consist of a provost, three fellows, and three scholars: Lord Burleigh was named first chancellor, and this prelate, then also Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was nominated the first provost, which office he continued to enjoy until 1594, when he resigned it, the queen having first given a licence for his so doing, and in which she expressed her great satisfaction in his administration.

The object of this foundation, as expressed in the Queen's letter to the lord deputy, was, that thereby "knowledge, learning and civility may be increased amongst the Irish, and their children's children, especially those that be poor, may have their learning and education given them with much more ease and lesser charge than in other universities they can obtain it." The foundation has been since enriched by royal grants of confiscated estates, parliamentary votes, and private donations, to an amount well adequate to the

promotion of its legitimate objects. The annual rental of its extensive estates in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Meath, exclusive of renewal fines, amounts to £13,816; it has also extensive patronage in Church livings, and sundry allowances in the nature of exhibitions from charitable foundations. Its magnificent library has been acquired at little expense, by private gifts, the statutable extension of copyright since 1816, and, in the instance of the Fagel library, the entire donation of the trustees of Erasmus Smith's charities. Its manuscript room is so richly supplied, but at the same time so sealed from ordinary access, that it may well be termed "the cemetery of Irish history;" a character, perhaps, too much in accordance with the constitution of the college itself, for, although it has sundry professors of its own endowment, and others, as those of divinity, mathematics, astronomy, and political economy, principally of private foundation, it yet has no professor of the history, antiquities, or statistics, moral or physical resources of the country with which its "alumni" should, in their future lives, be conversant. James the First urged the propriety of such an appointment; Charles the First warmly approved of it; Bishop Bedell, while provost, endeavoured to effectuate it; James the Second actually appointed one; and a very large bequest was, in more recent years, designed by Doctor Flood for the endowment of such, but his will was overruled at law. The reproach, however, of such a deficiency in our Irish university will, it is hoped, be speedily removed under the liberal administration of the present provost, Dr. Sadleir.

In the chronological arrangement of these memoirs, it is painful to find Edmund Spencer, in his "View of the State of Ireland" in 1596, thus characterizing the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland. "Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, you may find there, and many more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman; and besides all these, they have their particular enormities, for all Irish priests, which now enjoy Church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do; they neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion, but baptism they do, for they christen, yet after the Popish fashion; only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly, and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops, for the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complain of them, so as they may do to them what they please; for they, knowing their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removable at their bishops' will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth; yea, and some of them, whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow

the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same, of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, but keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them."*

In 1597 Archbishop Loftus was again one of the Lords Justices, and once more in 1599, on the remarkable occasion, when the Earl of Essex, the Viceroy, departed from Ireland, and suddenly appeared before the queen in her dressing chamber. At the close of the latter year he was named one of the assistant councillors to the Lord President of Munster, and in 1603 had pardon of intrusion and alienation, in reference to the manors, &c., of Rathfarnham, Ballintiyer, Newtown, Stagonil, Timothan, Old Court, Kilclogan, Wexford, Hooke, Painstown, le Naas, &c.† In two years afterwards, on the 5th of April, 1605, about forty-two years after his consecration, of which nearly thirty-eight were spent in this see, he died at an advanced age in his palace of St. Sepulchre's, and was buried in St. Patrick's Church, at the right hand of the Earl of Cork's monument. It may be remarked, that Anne, the second daughter of this prelate, was married to Sir Henry Colley of

* Spencer's View of the State of Ireland, Dub. Ed. p. 139, &c.

† Rot. in Canc. Hib.

Castle Carberry, and from that union have descended the present Marquis Wellesley, and the Duke of Wellington.

THOMAS JONES.

[Succ. 1605. Ob. 1619.]

Thomas Jones, the son of Sir Roger Jones, Knight, Alderman of London, succeeded on the death of Loftus; he was born in Lancashire, and educated in Christ Church College, Cambridge, where he became a master of arts, but took his degree of doctor of divinity, in that of Dublin, by special grace, in 1614. When he had taken orders he came over to Ireland, and married Margaret, the daughter of Adam Purdon, Esq., of Lurgan Race in the county of Louth, relict of John Douglas, and sister to the wife of Archbishop Loftus, to which alliance he was probably indebted for his subsequent promotions; indeed, there was, (as Mr. Mason has remarked in his History of St. Patrick's Cathedral,) a singular congruity in the events which befel each of these persons. They were educated at the same university, and ran the race of ambition together, both were deans of St. Patrick's, archbishops of Dublin, chancellors and lords justices of Ireland; they married two sisters, and each left a numerous progeny, while the elder branch of both families was ennobled in the persons of their immediate heirs. Jones's first promotion was to the chancellorship of St. Patrick's cathedral; in 1581 he was elected its dean, and, while in that office, combined with his chapter to make some of those

disgraceful demises of the property of the church (as of the manor of Coolmine for 81 years to Mr. Allen of Allenscourt), which Dean Swift has so severely censured.

On the 10th of May, 1584, Dean Jones was promoted by letters patent to the see of Meath; he had been recommended from Ireland, as "a person for his learning and wisdom, and other virtuous qualities, fit to be advanced to a bishopric;" and the queen, accordingly, wrote from Westminster to the lords justices to make out such writings for his election and consecration, and the restitution of the temporalities of the see of Meath. On the 12th of the above month he was consecrated in St. Patrick's Church, and in the month following was called into the privy council by her majesty's special direction, communicated to Sir John Perrot. Having presided over that see during twenty-one years, he was, in six months after the death of Loftus, promoted to this, King James having in October, 1605, thus emphatically recommended his translation thereto: "Whereas since the death of the late archbishop, we have given no order for supply of that see, because of same being a place so eminent within that kingdom, we took time to advise of a meet person for it, we have since, upon conference with divers of our council, found none more fit for the present time than the Bishop of Meath, in regard of his long experience in that kingdom, both in the ecclesiastical state as a bishop, and in the civil affairs as a chancellor, wherefore we have made choice of him, and we are further pleased, that he

shall hold in commendam a prebend which now he hath in possession, which he will nominate unto you." He, accordingly, retained with this dignity the prebend of Castleknock, and the rectory of Trim; and, in a few days after, was for the same causes made chancellor by privy seal, which high office he held until his death. On the 9th of November he was consecrated, and on the 11th had restitution of the temporalities.

In 1608 this archbishop had the king's letter for a grant of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Tristernagh, with all lands thereunto belonging, as theretofore demised by Queen Elizabeth to Captain William Piers for a certain term then outstanding,* and in 1610 obtained a further grant to himself and his son Sir Roger Jones, of two watermills on the Boyne, near Trim, with the courses and weirs thereunto belonging, parcel of the estate of the late monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Trim; also, a grant of the monastery of the friars minors observants of Trim, with the site, church, cemetery, water-mill and course, garden, orchard, and other appurtenances, an eel weir on the Boyne, the king's park otherwise the park of Trim, containing eighty acres, and other parks, parcel of the estate of said monastery; also, that religious house and its site, the church and burial-ground, and the hereditaments within the same, and eighty acres adjoining the town and lands of Galroestown, parcel of the same estate; one hundred acres in Ballynascallan,

* Rot. in Canc. Hib.

parcel of the estate of Walter de la Hoyde, attainted, a castle, and 200A. at Derranstown, &c.

In 1611 he and the other archbishops of the Established Church held a council in Dublin, wherein it was decreed, that the suffragans should reside in their respective dioceses, visit all the churches under their charge, and institute such regulations as would be best calculated "to prevent sectarianism, and extirpate Popery." It was then also ordained, that none should be appointed a minister, without the approbation of the Lord Lieutenant under the royal seal, that all ecclesiastics should take the oath of supremacy, and that quarterly lists of recusants should be transmitted to the viceroy, as also of all who protected priests, or attended their service or ceremonies, that in every diocese there should be a school of the higher order of learning, and in every town one of rudiments, all under Protestant tutors, and lastly, that the churches should be repaired at the expense of the recusants, but for the exclusive service of the established religion.*

In the following year this prelate was one of the spiritual lords who sat in the parliament, the opening of which is thus strikingly detailed. "On the 18th of May being Tuesday, the Lord Deputy, with all the peers of the realm and the noblemen, the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpets, the Lord David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword

* Porter's Compend. Annal. Eccles., p. 249, &c.

of estate, the Earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance, and after all these the Lord Deputy followed, riding upon a most stately horse, richly trapped, himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth, and thus, in most stately and sumptuous manner, they rode from the Castle of Dublin to the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, to hear service and a sermon preached by the Reverend father in God, Christopher Hampton, D. D., Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. But as many of the nobility as were of the recusant faction went not into the church, neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding that they were lords of the parliament house, and rode towards the church with other lords of estate, yet they staid without during the time of service and sermon. Now, when service was done, the Lord Deputy returned back into the Castle, those recusant lords joined themselves again with the rest of the estate, and rode to the Castle in manner as before they came from thence. Now, the Lord Deputy, with all this honourable assembly, being entered into the Castle ascended up into the high house of parliament, where he sat down in his chair of state; likewise, the Lord Chancellor sat down according to his estate, also the nobility of the kingdom, the lords spiritual and temporal, every one sat down accordingly. And, when the whole high court of parliament was set, the Lord Chancellor made a grave and worthy speech, concerning many great

and worthy causes of estate, there to be debated upon for the good of the kingdom and for the commonwealth thereof."*

In 1613 Archbishop Jones was one of the justices in commission with Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of Ireland; in 1614 he had a grant of the temporalities of the bishopries of Kilmore and Ardagh during vacancy. In that year also occurred a new taxation of this diocese, in which three of the dignities were revalued and reduced in that estimate; and three prebendal dignities valued for the first time. Doctor Jones was again in commission as lord justice in 1615, jointly with Sir John Denham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and, in the parliament of the latter year, was appointed to act as proxy for the Archbishop of Tuam. The regal visitation of that year reported this diocese as of the annual value of £450, while it contains the following remarks by the archbishop on the state of the deaneries of Omurrough and Wicklow, and the diocese generally. "I confess there is but a slender account yielded of these two last deaneries, which lie in places remote. I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered, which is, that I cannot possibly get curates to supply the service of these churches; the rectories are impropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to a minister for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers, for the natives of this kingdom, being generally addicted to

* Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 166.

Popery, do train up their children in superstition and idolatry; so soon as they come to age they send them beyond the seas, from whence they return either priests, jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to the state. Such English ministers and preachers, as come hither out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many times they prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care of their placing in the best manner I can. Some livings are fallen void since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents for the present. This is our case; I might add hereunto, that my archiepiscopal jurisdiction was granted away by my predecessor to a civilian; and the grant was confirmed by both the deans and chapters. My jurisdiction hath not yielded me any means or profit (save only my proxies since my preferment to this see,) in which time I have furnished all the churches of Dublin with sufficient preachers which before they did want; I have preferred none but good preachers in my cathedral church or other part. I take God to witness I have used my best endeavours to plant a good ministry, and my care and travel shall be still employed to perform his majesty's religious directions, and to discharge a good conscience before God. So in this diocese there are preachers in number thirty-eight or thirty-nine, of which thirty-two are resident; reading ministers about forty. I have placed three preachers in void livings since my return; besides there are

two public schoolmasters in this diocese, one in the city of Dublin, and the other in St. Patrick's, which teach free schools, and their scholars do prosper well, thanks be to God. It is worthy of remark, that the above record enumerates, amongst the then wholly unprofitable benefices, those of Athy, Grangerosnolvan, Belan, Castledermot, Glendalough, Grany, Moone, Timolin, Narraghmore, Kilcullen, Wicklow, Arklow, Templemichael, &c. In the same year, as stated in the notes to Curry's Historical Review, (Dublin edition, p. 86,) eight Roman Catholics, who had been excommunicated by this prelate for recusancy, and imprisoned, were released by the indulgence of parliament; but, on being again excommunicated by Doctor Jones, they were sent back to their former place of confinement.

In the November of 1617, the mayor and commons of Dublin procured an act of state against certain inhabitants of St. Patrick's liberties, who sold goods without licence from the city of Dublin; but this order, which had been obtained when the archbishop was absent from the council, was, on his representation, suspended, it being proved to be a direct infringement of the dean and chapter's privileges, whose rights the mayor and commons had upon this occasion concealed. In the same year, this prelate had a grant from the crown of the wardship of Patrick, son and heir of William Bermingham, then late of Corballis, at a certain annual rent, "retaining thereout £7 9*s.* 6*d.*, for his maintenance and education in religion and habits, and in Trinity

College, Dublin, from the twelfth to the eighteenth year of his age."

Archbishop Jones, during his episcopacy, repaired a great part of Christ Church which had fallen down in his time; he also restored the steeple, then greatly decayed, and placed upon it three weather-cocks, the memory of which benefactions was preserved by an inscription on the walls of that cathedral long since defaced. He died at his palace of St. Sepulchre's, in April, 1619, having governed this see upwards of thirteen years, and was buried beside his wife in St. Patrick's Church near the communion table, where a beautiful monument was erected to his memory by his heir, and which was subsequently repaired at the instance of Dean Swift, whose laudable exertions in renovating the edifice over whose economy he presided, have only been paralleled by the judicious and liberal expenditure of the present dignitary, Dean Dawson. Archbishop Jones, during the period of his several promotions, not only laid the foundation of a large estate, but likewise so recommended his son to royal favour, that he was, in a few years after his father's demise, created Viscount Ranelagh, and Baron Jones of Navan; the first of which titles has been since enlarged into an earldom.

LANCELOT BULKELEY.

[Succ. 1619. Ob. 1650.]

Lancelot Bulkeley, Doctor of Divinity, of the University of Dublin, was the eleventh and youngest

son of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Beaumaris, by his second wife Agnes, daughter of Thomas Needham, and acquired his education at Brazen-nose College, Oxford; into which he was admitted a commoner in 1587, in the eighteenth year of his age. He afterwards removed to St. Edmund's Hall, where he took the successive degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and was in November, 1593, ordained deacon by Hugh Bellot, bishop of Bangor, in a private oratory in that prelate's palace, being then also licensed to preach; he was on the same day instituted to the rectory of Llandyfnan, in the March following to that of Beaumaris, and immediately afterwards ordained priest in the cathedral of Bangor, by the same bishop. Having for a short time filled the archdeaconry of Dublin, he was promoted to its see in 1619, with the usual mandates for investiture, consecration, and restitution. He was accordingly consecrated at Drogheda in St. Peter's Church, on the 3rd of October in that year, by Christopher, Archbishop of Armagh, assisted by the Bishops of Kilmore and Dromore, and was soon afterwards called into the privy council by King James, who early in the following year granted him a licence to hold in commendam one or more ecclesiastical benefices, not exceeding the annual value of £100 sterling in the king's books.

In 1621 this prelate granted to Christopher and Richard Fagan the office of constable of the castle of Swords, with certain lands annexed.* In 1623 he

* Rot in Canc. Hib.

revived the controversy concerning the primacy with Doctor Hampton, "on the ground, that a Protestant king and council would confirm the patent granted by a Protestant king to his predecessor Browne, and abolish that of a Popish queen to Primate Dowdal: the death of Hampton, however, which occurred soon after, silenced the dispute for that time."* In 1626 Bulkeley petitioned King Charles, setting forth, that whereas before the dissolution of abbeys the Archbishops of Dublin, from time to time at their ordinary visitations, received the yearly sum of £13 Irish, for proxies issuing out of, or payable for churches belonging to the abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr beside Dublin; £6 8*s.* for proxies chargeable upon the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and £5 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish, out of the monastery of St. Mary the Virgin beside Dublin; which several proxies, upon the dissolution, were reserved by an act of parliament to the then archbishop and his successors, by virtue whereof he and his predecessors had ever since received the said proxies at the hands of the vice-treasurer, until the last establishment made by the advice of the late commissioners in Ireland, who, supposing the same to be a pension granted to him, left the same out of the establishment; and, therefore, prayed his majesty's letters, directing the vice-treasurer and receiver-general to pay the said proxies, together with the arrears thereof, which was accordingly done under the authority of letters from the

* Ware's Bishops, p. 79.

privy council of England, dated at Whitehall, 21st of June, 1626. In the same year he renewed the dispute about the primacy with Archbishop Ussher, upon which occasion King Charles directed letters to the Lord Deputy Falkland and the privy council, to examine into and finally determine the difference, that the scandal arising from such an unseemly contention between prelates might be avoided; but nothing was done in pursuance of this command, until 1634, a little before the meeting of parliament, when the Lord Deputy Strafford summoned the two archbishops before the council board, and, for two several days, examined narrowly, viewed the records, and heard all that could be alleged on either side, and then declared, "that it appeared as well by the testimony of Bernard in the life of Malachy, as by the old Roman provincials, and divers other evidences, that the see of Armagh had from all antiquity been acknowledged the prime see of the whole kingdom, and the archbishop thereof reputed not a provincial primate, (like the other three metropolitans,) but a national, i. e., the sole primate of Ireland properly so called; that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Archbishop of Dublin, (not being chancellor,) both at the council board and in the execution of the high commission, even for such things as properly concerned the diocese of Dublin itself, did constantly subscribe after the Archbishop of Armagh; that in the statute made for the erection of free schools in the 12th of Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Armagh is nominated before the Archbishop of Dublin, as he is in that of the

27th of Elizabeth, where all the archbishops and bishops were ranked in their order, as appeared by the parliament rolls; for which reason he decreed that the Archbishop of Armagh and his successors for ever should have precedency, and be ranked before the Archbishp of Dublin and his successors, as well in parliament and convocation house, as in all other meetings, and in all commissions where they should be mentioned, and in all places, as well within the diocese or province of Dublin as elsewhere, until upon better proof on the part of the Archbishop of Dublin it should be adjudged otherwise." And thus was finally terminated a dispute, which had from time to time perplexed and disturbed both Church and State for several hundred years. After the passing of the act of council, Primate Ussher was commanded to draw up a state of the controversy, and accordingly he wrote a short discourse upon the subject, which is deposited among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin.

At Christmas, 1629, in that season which ought to inspire universal benevolence, Archbishop Bulkeley under the pretence that the Jesuits and friars of Dublin were infusing sedition amongst the Roman Catholic inhabitants, applied to the Lords Justices for a warrant and a file of musketeers to seize the offenders. Intolerance sat at the council board, a military escort was ordered out, but the Carmelites of Cook-street resisted the execution of the warrant, (as alleged by the author of "Foxes and Firebrands," one of those scandalous pamphlets, that in every age

are found to pander to the prejudices and bad passions of the ignorant and credulous), and their audience and flock, as might be expected, assailed the soldiers, affronted the archbishop, who had arrogated to himself to be their accuser and their avenger, and obliged him to take shelter in a house. "The Lords Justices thereupon committed the Popish aldermen and others of the citizens, and on the 9th of January following communicated the transaction to the privy council of England, who, on the last day of the same month, issued their orders for a due execution of the law, and commanded "that the house, where these friars appeared in their habits, and where the archbishop received the first affront, should be demolished, and left as a mark of terror to the resisters of authority, and that the rest of the houses of these suspicious societies should be converted to houses of correction and other public uses; and further, that all fit means should be used to discover the founders, benefactors, and maintainers of such societies and colleges, and certify their names, and to find out the lands, leases, or revenues applying to their uses, and dispose thereof according to the law, and to certify also the places of all such monasteries, priories, nunneries, and other religious houses, and the names of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers and sisters therein, especially such as are of note, to the end such evil plants be not permitted to take root any where in that kingdom. For the supply of munition," it adds, "which you have reason to desire, we have taken

effectual order that you shall receive it with all convenient speed."*

Notwithstanding all this zeal against service and worship according to the forms of the Church of Rome, it appears that the Articles of that of England were not held or reputed to be those of the Church of Ireland until 1634,† and then under the following singular circumstances, as detailed in Lord Strafford's State Letters: A convocation was assembled in Dublin, "the lower house of which had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the Church of England, and I found," says Strafford,‡ "that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops; that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A, and on others they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum;* that in the fifth article they had brought the Articles of Ireland (of 1615) to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the convocation. I instantly sent for Dean Andrews, (afterwards Bishop of Ferns,) that reverend clerk who sat forsooth in the chair at this committee, requiring him to bring along the aforesaid book of canons so noted in the margin, together with the draft he was to present

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* Cabala, vol. ii. p. 241, &c.

† See Borlase's Irish Rebellion, p. 238.

‡ State Letters, vol. i. p. 323.

that afternoon to the house. But when I came to open the book and ran over their deliberandums in the margin, I confess I was not so moved since I came into Ireland; I told him certainly not a dean of Limerick, but an Ananias, had sat in the chair of that committee; however sure I was, an Ananias had been there in spirit if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam, that I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure. I therefore said he should leave the book and draft with me, and that I did command him upon his allegiance, he should report nothing to the house from that committee until he heard again from me. Being thus nettled, I gave present direction for a meeting, and warned the primate, the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe, and Derry, together with Dean Lesley the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee to be with me the next morning; then I publicly told them how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith, without the privity or consent of State or bishop, with a spirit of Brownism and contradiction. I observed on their *deliberandums*, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the Church, and leave every man to choose his own high place where liked him best; but those heady and arrogant courses I was not to endure, nor if they were disposed to be frantic in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in

the convocation or in their pulpits." After which, his lordship declared to them all, that no other question should be put at their meeting, but that for allowing and receiving the Articles of the Church of England without admitting any other discourse at all; for that he would no tendure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed. "And finally," proceeds his lordship, "because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it, and after I had perused it I would send the prolocutor a draft of the canon to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of my own. This meeting thus broke off, there were some hot spirits sons of thunder amongst them, who moved, that they should petition me for a free synod; but in fine they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished. The primate accordingly framed the canon, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself more after the words of the canon in England, which I held best for me to keep as close too as I could, and then sent it to my lord. His Grace came instantly unto me, and told me he feared the canon would never pass in such form as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might, and besought me therefore to think a little better of it; but I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late now either to persuade or affright me; I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in these

very words, and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse them, telling him by the signal we should see, whether his lordship or myself better understood their minds on that point, and by that I would be content to be judged. Only for order sake I desired his lordship would vote this canon first in the upper house of convocation, and so voted, then to pass the question beneath also. Without any delay then I writ a letter to Dean Lesley, a copy whereof I likewise send you, with the canon enclosed, which accordingly that afternoon was unanimously voted, first with the bishops, and then by the rest of the clergy, excepting one man, who did singly deliberate upon the receiving of the Articles of England." The remarkable canon was in the following words: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England on the confession of the same Christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, we do receive and approve the book of Articles of Religion, as agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, A. D. 1562, for the avoiding of diversity of opinions and the establishing of consent touching true religion; and therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm that any of these matters are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated and not absolved before he make a public revocation of his error."

The above was, perhaps, says Doctor Curry, "the highest exertion of lay ecclesiastical authority that was

ever known in this or any other kingdom; for, as by this canon excommunication is denounced against all those, who should affirm that the Articles of the Church of England are such, as they might not, with a good conscience, subscribe unto; and as the members of this convocation seem to have thought them to be really such, for, otherwise, they would have more readily acquiesced in them, it appears that those bishops and clergy were then obliged to subscribe to a course denouncing excommunication against themselves, in case they should ever after venture their real opinion of those Articles."* Those canons, being thereupon published by his majesty's authority, under the great seal of Ireland, are the canons and constitutions still observed in the Established Church of Ireland.†

In this year, (1634,) at a national synod of the archbishop, his suffragans, and the clergy of this province, as of the others in Ireland, a liberal subsidy was voted for the service of the State by them; "being lately," as they allege in their address, "dejected and depressed to the lowest degree of misery and contempt by the wars and confusion of former times; having our churches ruined, our habitations left desolate, our possessions aliened, our persons scorned, our very lives hourly subject to the bloody attempts of rebellious traitors, and now by the piety and bounty of your blessed father, and by the gracious influence of your

* Curry's Review, B. iii. c. 11.

† Nicholson's Irish History, p. 76.

sacred majesty, being new enlivened, and beginning to lift up our heads out of darkness and obscurity, do freely acknowledge to your immortal glory, that, as no Church under heaven did more stand in need, so none did ever find more royal and munificent patrons and protectors than the poor Church of Ireland. You have not only made restitution of that which the iniquity of former ages had bereft us of, but also, as though you intended to expiate their faults, enriched us with new and princely endowments, to which infinite obligations, and many others, we may add your majesty's inestimable goodness in providing for us your present deputy, Thomas Viscount Wentworth, a governor so just, careful, provident, and propitious to the Church. By the act of parliament, (10 Chas. I. sess. 3, c. 23,) which confirmed this clerical grant, the collectors thereof were empowered to enforce its payment by the authority of the censures of the Church; that is to say, by suspension, excommunication, or interdiction; and also by sequestration of the fruits and profits of the benefices and promotions spiritual, or by distress on the farmers and occupiers of the lands chargeable therewith. In the same session an act was passed, whereby all archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, to whom any manors, lands, tithes, pensions, profits, or other hereditaments had been, or should thereafter be granted, for the maintenance of any college, school, lecture, &c.; or for the relief or maintenance of any poor or impotent persons; or for the building or repairing of any church, college, school,

or hospital; or for the maintenance of any preacher; or the erection or repair of any bridges, causeways, highways, or any other like lawful and charitable use, are compellable in the Court of Chancery to perform said trusts according to the true intent of the charters to them made." In the following session an act was passed (10 & 11 Chas. I. c. 2,) authorizing and facilitating the restitution of impropriations and tithes to the clergy, regulating the endowment of perpetual vicars, and the rights of presentation, and prescribing that all vicars, so endowed, should be chargeable with the repairs of the chancels of their respective churches. While the next act of the session made all conveyances, leases, and charges by ecclesiastical persons void, with certain exceptions.

Carte, speaking of the state of the Protestant clergy in Ireland at this time, says, "scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the Established Church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship."* While Lord Wentworth, in a letter to Archbishop Laud, described them as an "unlearned clergy which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any ways reverenced or protected, the churches unbuilt, the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined, the people untaught through the non-residency of the clergy,

* Life of Ormonde, vol. i. p. 68.

occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls which they hold by commendams, the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of order, habit, or gravity in the course of their service, the possessions of the Church to a great proportion in lay hands, the bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers, and farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons, the Popish titulars exercising the while a foreign jurisdiction much greater than theirs."*

In 1635 Archbishop Bulkeley had a confirmation from the king to him, and his successors, of all former grants, liberties, and privileges belonging to the see. This charter very fully details in particular the extent and privileges of the manor of St. Sepulchre's and its liberties.

In 1639 an act of parliament was passed, whereby, after reciting that the ancient glebes of churches could not be found, "through the war and confusion of former times in this kingdom," it was enacted that any devout person might, without any licence of mortmain, endow churches having no glebes, or having not above 10A. of glebe, with new glebe, provided the total glebe of any one church so endowed should not exceed 40A. at the most. In the ensuing year, a private act secured to this prelate, styled "William Bulkeley, priest," several and respective estates in divers lands in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and

* Strafford's State Letters, vol. i. p. 187.

Kildare, or in some or one of them. The Commons' Journals of the immediately succeeding years afford abundant evidence, as amongst the grievances voted by parliament, of the scandalous extortions sanctioned in the ecclesiastical courts under the pretext of exacting dues for services revered in the old establishment, but unpractised and condemned as idolatry by the reformers. In the emphatic language of the petition of the Ulster dissenters, "the prelates and their faction, as they inherit the superstition of the Popery, so of late, they exact with all severity the obsolete customs of St. Mary's gallons, mortuaries, &c., which, as they were given by superstition and used to idolatry, so now they are taken by oppression and applied to riotousness."*

In June, 1646, this prelate was one of the council who signed and issued the proclamation confirmatory of the peace concluded in that month, between the Marquis of Ormonde and the Roman Catholics, "in the hope conceived by his Majesty, that it may prevent further effusion of his subjects' blood, redeem them out of all the miseries and calamities under which they now suffer, restore them to all quietness and happiness under his Majesty's most gracious government, deliver the kingdom in general from those slaughters, depredations, rapines, and spoils, which always accompany a war, encourage the subjects and others with comfort to betake themselves to trade, traffic, commerce, manufacture, and all other things

* Pryn. Ant. of Prelacy, vol. ii. p. 375.

which uninterrupted may increase the wealth and strength of the kingdom, and beget in all his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, a perfect unity amongst themselves, after their too long continued division."

In 1647, on the surrender of Dublin to the commissioners of the parliament, one of their first acts was to prohibit the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and require the directory for worship to be adopted in all the churches of the city. The clergy of the Established Church, who had gathered into Dublin while it was occupied by Ormonde, protested against this order, and presented a remonstrance to the commissioners, but without success. The directory was adopted throughout the city, and the Book of Common Prayer only continued to be used in the Chapel of Trinity College, then accounted in the suburbs. In two years afterwards, however, when Archbishop Bulkeley preached his farewell sermon to his clergy in St. Patrick's Cathedral, at which were present, the two Parrys, John and Benjamin, both of whom were subsequently bishops of Ossory, Thomas Seele, afterwards Provost of Trinity College and Dean of St. Patrick's, Mr. Boswell, Prebendary of St. John's, &c., the Common Prayer was read by William Pilsworth, minister; but for doing so, the usurping powers visited them with severe punishment, not only committing the archbishop but all who were present to prison. Nor did the hostility of the usurping powers to this prelate cease even there; immediately afterwards, at the close of the

same year, (8th of March, old style,) an act was passed by the English parliament, whereby, "for the encouragement and increase of learning, and the true knowledge and worship of God, and the advancement of the Protestant religion in Ireland," it was enacted that all the honors, castles, lordships, manors, &c., which theretofore belonged to the late Archbishop of Dublin, and to the late dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, (treating them as persons who had abdicated their respective dignities,) and the farm of Ardbracken, with the parsonage of Trim, belonging to the bishopric of Meath, should be, and were thereby vested in Henry Ireton, President of Munster, William Basil, Esq., Attorney General for Ireland, Colonel Venables, Sir Robert King, Colonel Henry Cromwell, John Cooke, Esq., Doctor Henry Jones, Doctor Jonathan Godhard, Colonel Hierome Sankey, &c., their heirs and assigns for ever, in trust for the better support of Trinity College, the erection and maintenance of a second College in Dublin, and the founding of a free school with suitable masters, &c., to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. On the day in which this act was passed, the same parliament entered into resolutions for the abolition of the hierarchy in Ireland, and the discontinuance of the Book of Common Prayer there.

"Spent with grief for the calamities of the times," and the sufferings of his Church, Doctor Bulkeley departed this life at Tallagh, on the 8th of September, 1650, in the eighty-second year of his age. His body was conveyed thence, and buried in

St. Patrick's Cathedral under the communion table. He left several children by his wife Alice, who was the daughter of Roland Bulkeley of Conway, but his only known literary production was a pamphlet, entitled, " Proposals for sending back the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland," now extremely scarce, although its circulation had but little efficacy.

JAMES MARGETSON.

[Succ. 1660. Resign. 1663.]

This see, during ten years after the death of Bulkeley, was unrepresented in the Protestant hierarchy, but, on the Restoration, James Margetson, Doctor of Divinity, was promoted thereto by King Charles's letters patent, dated 25th of January in the twelfth year of his reign, and his mandate for consecration, writ of restitution, and mesne profits issued the same day. He had, on the preceding 18th of January, been advanced to the treasurership of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and his grant of the prelacy contained a permission to hold that dignity as in commendam, together with the rectory of Gallowne, *alias* Dartree, in the county of Monaghan and diocese of Clogher, and the prebend of Desertmore in St. Finbar's Cathedral, Cork.

Doctor Margetson was born in 1600 at Drighlington, in Yorkshire, and received his education in Peter House College, Cambridge, whence he was promoted to the parish of Watlas in his own county. Here he attracted the notice of Lord Viscount

Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, who, on being appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, brought him over with him in 1633, and obliged him to resign his parish in Yorkshire. In 1635 he was presented to the rectory and vicarage of Annagh, in Kilmore diocese; was afterwards advanced to the deanery of Waterford; in 1637 to that of Derry; and in 1639 was made Dean of Christ Church Dublin, pro-vice chancellor of the university there, and prolocutor of the lower house of convocation. Throughout the troubled period of 1641, his charity and benevolence to the sufferers were singularly eminent. In July 1647 he joined in a remonstrance to the commissioners of the English Parliament, praying liberty for the use of the Common Prayer in their respective churches, and rejecting the directory ordered to be used in lieu thereof; soon after which the war obliged him to fly to England, where, however, he encountered unexpected evils, as great and general as those from which he had fled. At length, having been taken by the parliamentary party, he was thrown into Manchester gaol, and hurried from prison to prison, until ultimately he was released in exchange for three or four officers. He afterwards retired to London, as the most private and safe retreat, but not with any view to decline aiding the royal cause where his ability could promote it. Accordingly, during the protectorate, many noblemen and gentlemen of the king's party, who dared not appear publicly in the matter themselves, privately employed him as a person of an inviolate in-

tegrity, to distribute their alms to the needy and reduced cavaliers. Although the dangers were many that attended this employment, yet he undertook it with the greatest cheerfulness, and discharged it with the utmost fidelity, travelling through England and Wales many times upon this errand, and relieving also numbers, both of the clergy and others, who were reduced to the severest poverty. Among the objects of this, his benevolence, was Chappel, Bishop of Cork and Ross, a refugee upon the same account. It was while wrestling with the adversities and dangers of this period of his life, that, according to his biographer, "he happened on a gentleman sick and on his death bed, to whom he administered spiritual comforts, together with the holy offices of the Church on such occasions. By that dying person he was told, that he had been sometimes one near on attendance on that late sacred martyr King Charles the First in his solitude, that to him had been by the king delivered, and committed to his charge and care to be preserved, those papers which he said he knew to have been written by the king's own hand, and which were after published with the title of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ`."

When King Charles the Second was restored to the throne of his ancestors, Doctor Margetson was selected to fill the metropolitical chair of this province, and was accordingly consecrated its archbishop in St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the 27th of January, 1660, being the very remarkable occasion when eleven other prelates were also consecrated for the ecclesiastical service of Ireland. In the same year he made

a visitation of the church of Penkridge, in Staffordshire, the manor and advowson of which had been, as before mentioned, granted to Archbishop de Loundres, and enjoyed by his successors. In 1661, the declaration requiring all persons "to conform to Church government by episcopacy, and to the liturgy as established by law, having been adopted by the lords, on the motion of Lord Montgomery of the Ards, (who had twice solemnly sworn in the covenant to extirpate prelacy,) and having been on the following day agreed to by the commons, it was read, under the sanction of this prelate, by all the ministers of Dublin in their respective churches, and afterwards similarly promulgated through the kingdom.

In 1662 this prelate enforced the principle of jurisdiction and control over the pulpits of his diocese, as has been recently asserted by the present Archbishop Whateley. The reader, who may feel interested in the details of the occurrence, will find them in *Kennett's Register*, p. 784, &c. In the same year an act was passed (14 & 15 Char. II. c. 10.,) authorizing the chief governor of Ireland, with the approbation of the respective archbishops and bishops, and the consent of the patrons and incumbents, to unite and divide parishes, to change the sites of churches or of free schools of royal or diocesan foundation, to exchange glebes, disappropriate benefices, and to unite presentative benefices to sinecures, saving always the rights of presentation or collation. In the same session the prelates and clergy of Ireland granted to the king "eight whole and

entire subsidies of four shillings in the pound, to be taken and levied off all and singular the promotions spiritual within the same kingdom." At this time Margetson was one of the spiritual peers who voted for the third reading of the Act of Settlement. During the time he presided over this see, he liberally contributed to the repair of both its cathedrals; but this interval was short, and in 1663, on the death of Primate Bramhall, he was translated to the province of Armagh by letters patent, dated the 29th of August, 1663, and on the same day had his writ of restitution to the temporalities, with a grant of the mesne profits from the death of his predecessor. He was also soon afterwards chosen Vice Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, a dignity which he held during his life.

He died in August, 1678, and was buried in Christ Church. "As to his private estate and fortunes," said Doctor Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath, in his funeral sermon, "God blessed him in that abundantly. It was objected to him that in England he had laid out what he had acquired in Ireland, and not there rather where he had it; but it is well known that even in Ireland he laid out for a settlement for one of his children no less than £4,000 at once, and the like sum of £4,000 more towards the settlement there of another of his children. He was also on purchasing not far off an estate, sold after for £6,000, which he might have had cheaper; but refused to deal in it, understanding part of it to be abbey land. For in all his layings out wheresoever,

he was always careful not to meddle with any concern of the Church, nor with tithes, nor with what did belong to abbeys, having oft observed the evil of that to their possessors." He erected a free school at Drighlington, in Yorkshire, his birth-place, and endowed it with a large yearly revenue for ever.

MICHAEL BOYLE.

[Succ. 1663. Resign. 1678.]

Michael Boyle, successor of Archbishop Margetson, was the son of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam. In 1637 he was incorporated master of arts at Oxford, subsequently took the degree of doctor of divinity in the University of Dublin, and in 1640 was made Dean of Cloyne. Lord Castlehaven, in his Memoirs, relates an interesting circumstance connected with him at this period of his life, or rather in the year 1644, when that nobleman made his rendezvous at Clonmel. "Thither," he writes, "came Dean Boyle, who was then married to my Lord Inhciquin's sister; his business was to persuade me to spare Doneraile and other houses and castles not tenable; I answered, that I desired it as much as he, though hitherto they had annoyed the country equally as if they had been strong; I told him, in short, I had orders to take all I could, and such as I thought not fit to garrison to destroy; yet, if he pleased to cause the garrisons to be drawn out, and by letters from the owners to put them into my hands, I would appoint some few men unto them, with commanders

in whom I most confided, and would make it my business to intercede to the council to preserve them. The dean and I parted good friends; but whether he could prevail or no with my Lord Inchiquin or the owners I know not, but I heard no more from him." In 1660 this divine was, by letters patent, advanced to the sees of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, having been a little before called into the privy council, and was one of the twelve bishops, who, as before alluded to, were consecrated together in St. Patrick's Church, after the Restoration. Not content with the aforesaid three bishopries, he held possession of six parishes in the western portion of his diocese, as sinecures, under colour that he could not get clergymen to serve them, in consequence of which he received a very severe reproof from his relative, Roger Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster. In 1663 he was translated to the archbishopric of Dublin, with writ of restitution of its temporalities, and a grant of the mesne profits from the translation of his predecessor, and of the same preferments which he had held in commendam.

For Doctor Boyle was more peculiarly reserved the enjoyment of beholding his Church, as it were, rising out of its own ruins. In 1665 were passed the acts for the uniformity of public prayer, the administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of Ireland; the act for assessing ministers' money in cities and corporate towns, the act for disabling spiritual persons from holding benefices or ecclesiastical

dignities in England or Wales, and in Ireland at the same time, and the act for abolishing unreasonable forms of tithings and oblations and settling a table thereof. In 1667 the prelate himself had a grant to him and his successors of the town and lands of Jordanstown in the parish of Swords, with other lands therein; also of Collinstown, Great and Little Roween, Kilruske, &c., in the counties of Dublin and Cork;* and, by the Act of Settlement, had a further confirmation of the lands of his see, together with an augmentation of so much of the forfeited lands as should increase the total income of the dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough, over and above certain manors and mensal lands, to the yearly value of £2,000; and in 1668 he and the respective deans of his two cathedrals, had a grant of several impropriations, rectories, and tithes in the counties of Longford, Galway, Mayo, Limerick, Westmeath, Cork, Kilkenny, and Wexford, to hold in trust to the use of the vicars and choirmen of Christ Church and St. Patrick's.†

Having repaired and considerably beautified the palace of St. Sepulchre's, while he resided there, he was translated to Armagh by the king's letter, dated the 27th of January, 1678, with which last preferment he held the chancellorship of Ireland for twenty-two years. He sat in King James's parliament in 1689, and dying in 1702, was buried at midnight in St. Patrick's Cathedral under the altar. The town of Blessington, in the county of Wicklow, was founded

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* Rot. Pat. in Canc. Hib.

† Rot. in Canc. Hib.

by him, and there he erected a magnificent country house, a domestic chapel, and a parish church. The title of Viscount Blessington was in consequence granted to his son, Morrough Boyle, who raised a very handsome cenotaph to the memory of his father, in St. Mary's Church, in that town.

JOHN PARKER.

[Succ. 1678. Ob. 1651.]

John Parker, the son of John Parker, prebendary of Maynooth, and born in Dublin, was in 1642 made a petty canon of St. Patrick's, and subsequently Prebendary of St. Michan's, and Dean of Killala, whereupon he took his degree of bachelor of divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, and was chaplain to the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Ormonde, while lord lieutenant of Ireland. In 1649 Cromwell caused him to be stripped of all his preferments and cast into prison, on suspicion of having been employed as a spy by the marquis, who was then labouring to reduce Dublin to the king's obedience. After some months, however, Ormonde procured his enlargement, and zealously patronized him until his withdrawal into France, when Parker likewise removed to England. On the Restoration this divine was promoted to the bishopric of Elphin, whence he was translated in 1667 to Tuam, and in 1678 from that dignity to the archdiocese of Dublin, whereupon he was admitted into the privy council. With his sees he held in commendam the rectory of Gallowne, alias

Dartree, in the county of Monaghan, the treasurership of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the prebend of Desertmore, in the church of St. Finbar, in the diocese of Cork.

He died on the 28th of December, 1681, at St. Sepulchre's, Dublin, and was buried in Christ Church, Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, his predecessor in this see, performing the last office. By his will, dated 27th of April, 1680, he devised to the poor of Elphin £12, to the poor of Tuam £10, to the poor of St. Sepulchre's, Dublin, £20, to Christ Church in that city £40 to buy a pair of silver candlesticks for the communion table, and to the Blue Boys' Hospital in Oxmantown £50. During the ensuing vacancy of the see Sir John Topham, Vicar-General, was by both chapters chosen guardian of the spiritualities.

FRANCIS MARSH.

[Succ. 1681. Ob. 1693.]

Parker's successor, Francis Marsh, Doctor of Divinity, of the University of Dublin, was born in Gloucestershire, in October, 1627, and educated in the free school of Gloucester, "where he made such early and nimble advances in grammatical learning, that by thirteen years of age he was fit to be admitted into Emanuel College, Cambridge, whence he was elected into a fellowship in Gonville and Caius College, in which latter society he continued till the restoration of the royal family. On the promotion of Doctor Jeremy Taylor to the united sees of Down

and Connor in 1660, Marsh was immediately sent for by that prelate, who put him into deacon's and priest's orders, and in the same year procured for him a presentation to the deanery of St. Saviour's of Connor. In the following year (19th of June, 1661) he was advanced by the influence of Lord Chancellor Hide to the deanery of Armagh, and on the 31st of March, 1664, to the archdeaconry of Dromore, 'pleno jure,' with a clause of union of the same to the deanery of Armagh, in which preferments he continued until his promotion to the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, in 1667, whence he was translated in 1672 to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, and thence to this dignity by the king's letter, dated 14th of February, 1681; in a few days after which he was enthroned in St. Patrick's, Dublin. The visitation sermon preached upon this occasion by his grace's chaplain, Doctor Samuel Foley, is preserved, and contains sentiments of Christian charity, which it had been well were more frequently reiterated on such occasions. "Let us not," said the preacher, "under pretence of zeal against Popery, countenance or support a faction, or out of a project of an impossible union put people in the head to desire that all ecclesiastical laws be taken away, and that they be allowed to do what they please. The second duty I conceive at this time to be very necessary is, that of love and peace amongst ourselves; a kingdom divided against itself, our Saviour tells us, cannot stand. We are all brethren and sons of the same mother. Let us therefore love as brethren, and be of the same mind. . . . . If there be

any among us, who will not endure that others do differ from them in opinion, and will make their own sentiments the rule of faith, they are to be pitied, and desired to reflect on the many sects and divisions which were among the ancient philosophers and later disputing Christians, on the common infirmity of human nature, and on their own many frailties, and to remember that it is not modest to impose magisterially all their own dreams or borrowed fancies upon others, on pain of being delared heretical if they receive them not, or to think that all men are blind or unconcerned how matters go, but they. . . . Let us do our own duties, be holy and innocent in our lives, laborious and industrious in our cures, resolute and unshaken in our loyalty and our faith, in perfect love and charity with one another, and entirely conformable to our legal constitutions."

Doctor Marsh, during the whole time of his filling this dignity, held with it the same preferments which his immediate predecessor had enjoyed, and in 1686, on being installed in the chapter as treasurer of St. Patrick's, took the oath of canonical obedience to the dean; he afterwards however, separated the treasurership from his preferments, in favour of his son on whom he conferred it. In the same year, on the arrival of Lord Tyrconnel to take upon him the government of this country, it was at this prelate's palace the council was assembled to receive him, and there Lord Clarendon (who had by particular favour been directed to retain the government for one week after Tyrconnel's landing) surrendered the sword to the

new viceroy, "with an admirable speech, setting forth his exact observance of the commands of the king, his master, and faithful discharging of that great trust which had been committed to him, and concluding with his impartial administration of justice to all parties, in those or the like words addressed to Tyrconnel, 'that, as he had kept an equal hand of justice to the Roman Catholics, so, he hoped his lordship would to the Protestants; never was a sword washed with so many tears as this;'" and in truth, if impartiality could bind the people of Ireland, the annals of its viceroyalty afford few instances of one so well inclined to serve them by that qualification on almost all occurrences, as the illustrious nobleman for whom such universal regard was avowed on this occasion.

During the administration of Clarendon's successor, Archbishop Marsh, feeling he had not the materials of character to uphold him through those stirring times, fled to England with his wife and three children, substituting on this occasion the celebrated Doctor William King, as his commissary to visit and superintend the diocese in his absence. King, however, believing his commission not legally executed, declined the office and procured the two chapters to elect Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, administrator of the spiritualties during the absence of the archbishop, and, in conjunction with that prelate, he governed the see, and supplied with curates such parishes as had been deserted by the Protestant incumbents. On the expulsion of James the Second,

Archbishop Marsh returned to Ireland, and in the January following held a visitation at St. Patrick's, which was attended only by the prebendaries of Yago, St. Audeon's, Howth, Tipperkevin, and Stagonil; and this and another held in the following month, were the only meetings of the chapter of St. Patrick's until after the battle of the Boyne. This acknowledged desertion of their cures by the Protestant clergy in the time of James, is strongly contrasted with the devoted adhesion of the Roman Catholic priests to their parishes and flocks during the reign of William the Third, as related by Schomberg. "I do not find," says the marshal in a letter to the latter monarch, dated in December, 1689, "that the ministers apply themselves enough to their duty, whilst the Romish priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the Church of Rome, in putting themselves at their head."* And Lord Clarendon, in one of his letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, tells his grace, "that very few of the clergy resided in their cures, but employed pitiful curates, which necessitated the people to look after a Romish priest or a nonconformist preacher, of both which there was plenty."† It may be also mentioned, that Queen Mary, in a letter to King William, in July, 1690, uses the remarkable words, "I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it now the season, (the king was then in Ireland,) which is, that you would take

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 59. † Id. vol. i. p. 223.

care of the Church in Ireland, every body agrees that it is the worst in christendom."*

While Doctor Marsh filled this dignity, he, at his own expense, considerably beautified and enlarged the palace of St. Sepulchre's, where on the 16th of November, 1693, he died of apoplexy, and was buried in Christ Church near the communion table; his funeral sermon having been preached by Doctor Dopping, Bishop of Meath, who gives him the character of having been a prelate greatly skilled in the Greek language, and in the Stoic philosophy, affable, mild, grave, and of an unblameable life. "Tis an argument," added Doctor Dopping on this occasion "of an extraordinary providence as well as of great merit, that preferments drop into the mouths of some, when others are forced to court like coy mistresses, and after all meet with disappointment; but this archbishop has been rather courted by preferments than a solicitor of them, which ought therefore to give a due value and esteem to his memory and reputation." On his death, this see was offered to Doctor Thomas Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a promotion which it is said he was willing to accept, and in the contemplation of it requested King William, "in behalf of the poor Irish clergy," that the forfeited impropriations belonging to the estates of the Roman Catholics might be all restored to the respective parish churches; and his Majesty considered it a reasonable proposition, but some

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 154.

unforeseen difficulties arising, the project was not carried into execution.

NARCISSUS MARSH.

[Succ. 1694. Resign. 1702.]

Narcissus Marsh, Doctor of Divinity, was born at Hannington, near Highworth in Wiltshire, in December, 1638. He was descended, in the paternal line, from a Saxon family of his name, long previously settled in Kent, out of which county his great-grandfather removed to the place of this prelate's birth. The first rudiments of this divine's education were likewise received at Highworth, whence, having been well fitted out for the university, he was received into Magdalen Hall in Oxford in the beginning of July, 1654, and in June, 1658, was elected probationer fellow of Exeter Hall. In July, 1660, he took his degree of master of arts; in December, 1667, that of bachelor of divinity, and at last, that of doctor of divinity, on the 23rd of June, 1671, to which degree he was also admitted in the University of Dublin in February, 1678. During these periods he was made chaplain, first to the Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards to the Lord Chancellor Hide Earl of Clarendon, which latter appointment led to many of his future preferments. In May, 1673, he was made principal of Alban Hall in Oxford by the appointment of the Duke of Ormonde, then chancellor of that university. As a person of accomplished learning and prudence, he was unanimously chosen to

preach the anniversary sermon on the 5th of November, 1667, and the act sermon in 1678, in which latter year he was nominated to the provostship of the College of Dublin, and thence was advanced to the bishopric of Ferns in 1682. In 1689, while he presided over that see, he was attainted in King James's parliament, but in the following year was translated by King William to Cashel, where he preached his primary visitation sermon in the church of St. John, on the 27th of July, 1692. In this discourse he impressed upon his clergy, that "their sermons be plain and practical, suited to the capacities and exigencies of their hearers, treating chiefly of the most substantial and necessary truths in religion, which it behoveth every man to know in order to his salvation, especially concerning the fall of man, the offices of Christ, and the nature of the covenant of grace; and pressing them home with practical inferences and observations, that may be so many rules for the parishioners to walk by; not amusing them with too sublime and speculative matters, such as are the doctrine of the Trinity, of God's decrees, of the mysteries of the incarnation, and the like, farther than just to confirm the people in a belief of the truth of these things, when they come so in your way, that they cannot well be passed over without saying something to them; but not at all to attempt explaining how they are so, which cannot be done. Sermons to the people should not treat of too sublime and speculative matters; nor yet, should they treat of plain and familiar matters after too sublime and speculative a

a manner, as in scholastic terms running out into needless controversies, overlarding your discourses with Latin and Greek, and the like, unless where there may be a necessity of it for explication or illustration, and there are some hearers capable of understanding it." He further admonished them concerning their funeral sermons, "that they should take care not to be over lavish in their praises of the dead, lest others might thereby think themselves secure in following their examples." In reference to visiting the sick, he adds, "You are to resort to the sick without expecting till you are sent for; indeed, besides the necessity of doing so in that extreme exigence for the direction of a parting soul in the right way to heaven, how incongruous is it that the sick persons should put you in mind of your duty, whereas you ought to put them in mind of theirs. The very Popish priests do shame us in this particular, and shall they be so warm and zealous in a bad cause, and we be cold and negligent in a good one? God forbid; let it never be once more named among us; nor yet any just occasion hereafter be given for men to make reflections thereupon, as they are too apt to do whenever the least occasion thereunto is administered. I shall only add hereto, that you should be very cautious how you behave yourselves towards men on their death-beds, that you neither run them into presumption nor despair, that you do not send some to hell with false hopes, and let others go to heaven without any; that you do not give absolution upon slight repentance, nor deny it

where the repentance is hearty and sincere, but without informing them how rare it is to find death-bed repentance to be indeed sincere."

In May, 1694, he was further promoted to this archbishopric, and in his visitation sermon reiterated the most of what he had pronounced at Cashel, further exhorting the clergy of the province to perform divine service frequently in the church, "to give notice on every Sunday of what fast-days and holy-days are to be in the next week, according as the Rubric doth require, and to observe them themselves together with their parishioners."—"That the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ be frequently administered."—"That the children in the respective parishes be prepared for confirmation, which is to be done by well instructing them in the catechism; and that they and all other parishioners be instructed in the nature and benefit of confirmation." He further exhorted them to reconcile their neighbours to attend to and provide for the wants of the poor; to keep registries of marriages, christenings, and burials; to compile terriers of the glebes and church possessions, &c. &c.

In 1695 he had a grant to him and his successors for ever of the castle, town, and lands of Seatown, Newtown, &c., in the barony of Nethercross, and county of Dublin, previously the property of the Russell family. In the same year the acts of 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15, for the establishing of parochial schools, and 12 Eliz. c. 1, for maintaining diocesan free schools, were ordered to be enforced. In 1697, when it was sought to exclude Roman Catholics from

parliament by a bill entitled, "An act for the better security of his majesty's person and government," but its provisions were considered so unjust and oppressive by the lords, that they negatived it by a considerable majority, this prelate was one of the fourteen peers who entered a protest, that certainly is not a record of their christian charity. The document is given in full in the "The Lords' Journals," vol. i. p. 664. In 1698 the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield wrote to Archbishop Marsh respecting "the peculiar of Penkridge in Staffordshire," the manor and advowson of which had been, as before mentioned, granted to Henry de Loundres, and enjoyed by his successors. The Bishop of Coventry on this occasion represented, that it had not been visited by any of the archbishops of Dublin since 1660, and he therefore prayed the permission of his grace to make a visitation of it in his, the archbishop's, name, which request was accordingly complied with; and the usual commission passed the consistorial seal, empowering the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield to visit for his Grace, "ejus peculiarem jurisdictionem de Penkridge."

Doctor Marsh was ultimately translated to the primatial see by the queen's letter, dated at St. James's, 26th of January, 1702-3, and by patent of the 18th of the ensuing month. While he governed the Church of Dublin, he built a noble library near the palace of St. Sepulchre's, which he enlarged after his translation to Armagh, and filled with a choice collection of books, having for that purpose bought

the library of Doctor Edward Stillingfleet, formerly Bishop of Worcester, to which he added his own collection, making a total of about 10,000 volumes; and, to render it more useful to the public, he plentifully endowed a librarian and sub-librarian to attend it, at certain prescribed hours. It is estimated, that besides the endowment, which amounted to £250 per annum, charged on certain lands in the county of Meath, he expended more than £4000 in the buildings and books, and, to make every thing secure to perpetuity, he obtained an act of parliament (6 Anne c. 19,) for the settling and preserving it. Amongst other clauses, this statute declares the premises for ever discharged of and from all manner of taxes already imposed, or thereafter to be imposed by act of parliament, unless the same shall thereon be charged expressly, and by name. It is somewhat singular, that four bishops protested against this bill being passed into a law, but the reasons assigned were afterwards on motion withdrawn. In 1745 Marsh's library received a considerable and most valuable collection of books and manuscripts, by the bequest of Doctor Sterne, Bishop of Clogher. "I am under a necessity," says Harris, "of acknowledging from a long experience, that this is the only useful library in the kingdom, being open to all strangers, and at all seasonable times;" nor have the facilities for consulting both its books and manuscripts been lessened since Harris's time, they were never more liberally afforded than at the present day; but the miserable pittance of £10 per annum, allotted for its yearly

refreshment, is not sufficient to keep the books in order. This prelate also endowed an alms-house at Drogheda, for the reception of twelve widows of decayed clergymen, to each of whom he allotted a lodging, and £20 per annum for a maintenance, prescribing, that the widows, claiming to be entitled to such provision, should be the widows of those who had served cure in the diocese of Armagh; or, if there should not be enough of that class to enjoy the charity, then the widows of such as had served cure in the diocese of Meath; and, for want of a sufficient number of these, then the widows of the province of Armagh at large. And he provided, that if in such places widows enough were not found for the fund, then the same was to be applied for apprenticing or educating the children of clergymen; and he allotted, out of the general fund, £40 per annum to the dean and chapter of Armagh, to be expended in the support of that church. He also repaired many decayed churches within his diocese at his own expense, bought in several impropriations, and restored them to the Church, and even extended his benevolent intentions to the encouragement of the propagation of the gospel in the Indies. In short, the amount of the money he gave in acts of charity, was calculated to have been not less than £20,000.

Towards the close of his life, he was during some years, in consequence of age and sickness, unable to attend much to business, yet, as Archbishop King observed in his funeral sermon, "he had the felicity, as well as prudence, to put his concerns, both spiritual

and temporal, into such good hands, that there was no defect in the management of either, his diocese being in very good order, and a great increase added to his fortune." He never married, and having died in November 1713, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, was buried on the sixth of that month, in the churchyard of St. Patrick's, adjoining to his library, where there was formerly a stately monument of white marble erected to his memory, with a lengthened inscription, which Harris has preserved. As the monument, however, was suffering considerably from the weather, it was removed into the cathedral, where it has been placed at the south side of the west aisle; while a mural plate in the churchyard designates the spot where his mortal remains were deposited. But his character is his best memorial. He was a divine of extraordinary learning and piety. He had applied himself to the study of mathematics and natural philosophy; was deeply versed in the oriental tongues; and withal, eminently skilled in both vocal and instrumental music; comprehending the theory and principles of harmony scientifically, and displaying as a practitioner considerable taste and execution. Many valuable works in Golius's collection of oriental manuscripts were purchased by him, and presented to the Bodleian Library. Besides his "Institutiones Logicæ," usually called the Provost's Logic, which he published, while he presided over Trinity College, for the use of its students, he edited Philip de Tricu's "Manuductio ad Logicam," to which he added the original Greek text, and some notes on Gassendi's tract, "De Demonstratione," printed at

Oxford in 1678. He wrote also an Essay on Sounds, with Proposals for the Improvement of Acoustics, which was presented to the Royal Society in 1683, and printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 156, and on which Guido Grandi, a philosopher of Cremona, has largely commented in his "Disquisitio Geometrica." He likewise published a Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin. Though zealously attached to the Church of England, and decidedly hostile to that of Rome, this prelate displayed a spirit of liberality towards dissenters. Mr. James Fleming, Presbyterian Minister of Lurgan, had been deputed in the year 1708 by the presbytery of Armagh to preach in Drogheda, where he experienced some persecution, both from the mayor of the town, and from Dean Cox. His successor, Mr. William Biggars, was imprisoned by these intolerant gentlemen, and confined for six weeks, Doctor Marsh's name and alleged certificate being used as authority for these harsh proceedings; but the prelate, on hearing of the circumstance, resented the conduct of the dean and the mayor exceedingly, and declared "that such severity against his dissenting brethren, was both against his principles and his inclination."*

WILLIAM KING.

[Succ. 1702. Ob. 1729.]

William King, Doctor of Divinity, was born at Antrim on the first of May, 1650, and was descended

* Presbyterian Loyalty, p. 512, &c.

from an ancient family of the house of Burras, in the north of Scotland, whence his father, James King, removed in the reign of King Charles the First, to avoid engaging in the solemn league and covenant at that time imposed under a species of excommunication, and he thereupon settled in the north of Ireland, where this his son was born, whom he lived to see promoted to the bishopric of Derry. In 1662 the young William was sent to a Latin school at Dungannon, and on the 7th of April, 1666, was admitted a sizer in Trinity College, Dublin. There he remarkably distinguished himself, and obtained a scholarship and native's place. In February, 1670, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1675 that of master, and in this latter year received deacon's orders from the hands of Doctor Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry. From the time of his admission into the College he contracted an intimate acquaintance with the famous Mr. Henry Dodwell, by whom he was instructed in logic and history; but, although they ever afterwards kept up a familiar and close correspondence, King's letters shew how much he differed from that gentleman in many points of divinity, and what pains he took to convince him of the evil tendency of some of his whimsical speculations.

Upon a week's warning, at the provost's command, he offered himself a candidate for a vacant fellowship in Trinity College, in which, though he did not succeed, being the junior of all, yet he acquitted himself with so much credit to his character, as strongly recommended him to the favour of John

Parker, Archbishop of Tuam, who, in 1674, ordained him a priest, in 1675 admitted him into his family in quality of chaplain, in 1676 collated him to the prebend and vicarage of Kilmainmore, the rectory and vicarage of Kilmainbeg, the vicarages of Cong, Ross, Moregaga, Killmolara, and Ballincalla, all in the diocese of Tuam, and county of Mayo. In October, 1676, he was promoted by the same patron to the provostship of the cathedral church of that diocese, and to the rectories and vicarages of Killareran, Templeduresmore, alias Knockmoy, Kilkerin, Ballymakelly, Aghiart, and the vicarage of Annaghdown, in the county of Galway. While he was chaplain in the family of Archbishop Parker, he applied himself closely to the acquisition of all useful learning, an inclination which his patron sedulously encouraged, having conceived a high opinion of his superior talents and excellent qualifications. His Grace of Tuam having been translated in 1678 to the see of Dublin, as before mentioned, collated Mr. King on the 27th of October, 1679, to the chancellorship of St. Patrick's, to which the parish of St. Werburgh's is annexed, where he employed himself with much diligence in keeping his flock in the doctrine of his Church. He was involved, however, at this time in a contest with Dean Worth, he denying that dignitary's right of visiting independently of the chapter. King was, however, obliged to submit, to acknowledge his temerity in protesting against or refusing to appear at the dean's visitation, and to promise obedience in future.

In 1686 he was engaged in a more serious con-

troversy with Peter Manby, Dean of Derry, who had become a Roman Catholic, and published "The Considerations which obliged him to embrace the Catholic religion." King's reply to this pamphlet was entitled "An Answer to the Considerations which obliged Peter Manby, late Dean of Londonderry, (as he pretends) to embrace what he calls the Catholic religion." To this, there came forth a rejoinder, entitled "A reformed Catechism in two dialogues concerning the English Reformation, collected for the most part word for word, out of Doctor Burnet, John Fox, and other Protestant historians, for the information of the people, in reply to Mr. William King's Answer to Dean Manby's Considerations, &c., by Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry." King's reply appeared under the name of "A Vindication of the Answer to the Considerations, &c., being an answer to the first dialogue already printed of the Reformed Catechism," whereupon, the Dean published "A Letter to a Friend, shewing the vanity of his opinion, that every man's sense and reason are to guide him in matters of faith," which produced King's last word, "A Vindication of the Christian Religion and Reformation, against the attempts of a late Letter, pretending to shew that all religions have a like plea, and that there can be no such sins as heresy and schism, if every man's sense and reason are to guide him in matters of faith." In 1688, King was constituted president of the chapter of St. Patrick's on the death of Dean Worth, and, in the January following, was elected

dean by the chapter, "undoubted patrons of that dignity."

On the accession of James the Second, after most of the Protestant clergy had fled, he continued to reside in Dublin, and considerably promoted the reduction of the adherents of James the Second by his influence. When he saw the attempt made to abrogate the Act of Settlement, without reflecting that a more atrocious, unjust, and ungrateful affirmance of the usurpation of adventurers never passed any legislative assembly, he conceived himself impelled by his religious principles, to persuade the Protestants, as most affected thereby, to embrace the deliverance offered to them by the Prince of Orange, to acknowledge him their king, and submit to his government, and undoubtedly he was singularly instrumental in promoting the course of the revolution in this kingdom. In 1689 he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and in the July of that year was, together with Doctor Foy, and many other Protestant clergymen, imprisoned in the Castle, immediately upon which, he appointed Mr. Henry Price his sub-dean, "and let me beseech you," he says in his letter of nomination, "do what you can to keep the Church in order; and I desire the assistance of your prayers, &c." Leslie attributes this, his imprisonment, to his having corresponded and given intelligence to the Williamite party, and particularly to Marshal Schomberg, and his having kept up a constant correspondence with Tolet and others in London. During his confinement he compiled the well-known work, "The

State of the Protestants of Ireland under King James's Government." He was, however, shortly enlarged through the influence of Herbert, then appointed by King James lord high chancellor of England, who, while warmly attached to that monarch's interest, was a zealous Protestant; and on all occasions, the chief patron and protector of the distressed people of his own communion.

As soon as he was released, Doctor King applied himself to the care of the diocese of Dublin, as before mentioned, which Archbishop Francis Marsh had deserted. In 1690 he was again confined, but the victory of the Boyne opened his prison door, and pointed the avenue for his spiritual promotion. In a few days after that engagement, when King William entered Dublin in triumph, Dean King preached the thanksgiving sermon in St. Patrick's; and, on the 9th of the following January, he was promoted to the bishopric of Derry, and received consecration at Christ Church, Dublin, from the hands of Archbishop Francis Marsh, assisted by the Bishops of Meath, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare and Killaloe; the king's metropolitan, Michael, Archbishop of Armagh, being then sick and unable to discharge the duty. After his consecration he immediately repaired to his diocese, which he found in all the wretchedness and misery induced by civil war; the villages and plantations all destroyed; the churches burned or dilapidated; the clergy withdrawn; and the parishes not able to supply a resident ministry, occasioned by the poverty of the people, and the want of tillage and

cattle. The bishop in a short time obliged the clergy to reside, or resign, or appoint and maintain sufficient curates; and out of his own revenues he supported many vicars, until the improvements of the respective parishes brought them in a sufficient and decent maintenance. When he was settled in his bishopric, he zealously laboured, and even published a treatise, to persuade the dissenting Protestants of his diocese, who were much increased by colonies from Scotland, to conform to the Established Church; and this work of his ministry was attended with considerable success. In 1692 he took a journey to England, to confer with the London Society, who were proprietors of a good part of the county of Derry, and between whom and his predecessor, Bishop Hopkins, there had been warm disputes about some lands and the fishery of the Bann. Bishop King proposed very equitable terms for an accommodation, but they were rejected, and a law suit commenced, which, in its consequence, gave rise to a decree in the House of Lords of England, that the bishop's appeal to the House of Lords of Ireland from the decree or orders of the chancery there, was *coram non judice*, and that all the proceedings therein were null and void, and that the Chancery of Ireland ought to proceed in the said cause as if no such appeal had been made to the House of Lords there. His acts, however, in immediate reference to the see of Derry, are not properly referrible to this work.

In 1694 he published "A discourse concerning

the inventions of men in the worship of God," which having been answered by Mr. Joseph Boyse, a dissenting minister, and by Robert Craghead, minister of the gospel in Derry, induced the bishop to write two "Admonitions to the Dissenting Inhabitants of the diocese of Derry," after which Mr. Boyse wrote a Vindication of his Remarks. In 1702, on the promotion of Doctor Narcissus Marsh to the primacy, Bishop King was elected, by both chapters of Dublin, administrator of the spiritualities of that see, to the archbishopric of which he was fully translated on the 11th of March in the same year. He has been accused of having sought the passing of the patent of this promotion in an unusual form, with a clause that he should be enthroned either by the dean of Christ Church or St. Patrick's, which, it was alleged, was never in any patent before, and he actually held visitations in St. Patrick's without enthronization, while he wholly declined coming to prayers to Christ Church until he should be enthroned there, and summoned the prebendaries of Christ Church to his visitations in St. Patrick's, which three of the ablest lawyers of the time declared to be illegal. These and other matters of difference between him and his clergy cannot be now of interest, but may be found very fully detailed in the Church history of the period. On taking possession of this see he applied himself with his usual assiduity to the founding of new churches in several parts of the diocese, and by the application of the impropriate forfeited tithes, pursuant to the English act 11 Will. III., by his own

contribution and the donations of others, he procured nineteen new churches to be erected in places, where no divine service had been performed since the period of the Reformation, causing also seven others to be rebuilt, and fourteen to be repaired. To supply these new churches with pastors, as the contiguous parishes became vacant, which consisted often of many unions, he divided them, and there settled a resident clergy, and, observing that most of these parishes were not accommodated with glebe land for the comfortable support of the incumbents, he apportioned to each, twenty acres out of the see land, pursuant to the enabling statute, 2 Anne, sess. 1, c. 10, as glebes at a very moderate reserved rent, so that most of the vicarages of his diocese were supplied with convenient land. When he likewise found that the income of the resident clergymen was scarcely sufficient for a decent maintenance, in consequence of the many divisions made of unions which formerly made these parishes very considerable, to remedy this in some measure, he annexed the prebends of St. Patrick's, as they became vacant, to the vicarages which were before separate and in distinct persons. He likewise, as appears from a letter of his in 1727, caused eleven alms houses to be built on glebes, several of which were his own gift. Dean Swift mentions a peculiar mode by which he encouraged his clergy to residence; "when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his

former rent and with no great abatement in the fine, and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value." In this, the first year of his promotion, he published his well known work "de Origine Mali," which Mr. Bayle and Mr. Leibnitz examined and censured. He endeavours therein to shew how all the kinds of evil, with which the world abounds, are consistent with the goodness of God, and may be accounted for without the supposition of an evil principle; Doctor Whateley, the present Archbishop, has published a comment on it, in which he styles King's work "a presumptuous speculation." In 1703, Archbishop King having previously purchased in his natural capacity, the lands of Seatown, Newtown, &c., 524A. which had belonged to this see, relinquished any personal benefit therefrom, and caused patents thereof to be passed to himself and his successors, Archbishops of Dublin, in augmentation of their revenues; which patents were confirmed by an English act of the fifth year of the reign of Qeen Anne. In the Irish parliament of 1703 were passed, the act for quieting the Protestant Hierarchy in their possessions, discharged to a certain extent of ancient incumbrances; the act authorizing the exchange of glebes, with approbation of the bishop and patron; and the act for naturalizing Protestant strangers. In the same session, when the question was put to take into consideration the heads of a bill sent up by the commons, making it high treason, by word or writing to impeach the succession of the

crown as then limited, and when said question was negatived, Archbishop King was one of the three peers who protested against that negative. He was also one of the three who protested against deferring the consideration of the Earl of Meath's memorable petition, complaining of the appellate jurisdiction affected to be exercised by the House of Lords of England over that of Ireland. But above all, it redounds to the high-minded and independent spirit of this prelate, that when at the same time the British senate had enacted, that the kingdom of Ireland was subordinate to that of Great Britain, and might be bound by laws made in England without its concurrence, this prelate was one of those who supported the spirited assertion of Irish independence that appears on the Lords' Journals of that period. A clerical convocation was also held in this year, principally by Archbishop King's instrumentality.

In 1704 he preached the thanksgiving sermon in Christ Church, before the lords justices, for the victory of Hochstet, having prevented the dean of that cathedral from so doing; and in 1705 he preached before the queen in St. James's chapel. About the year 1706 he purchased a large portion of impropriate tithes in the county of Kildare, which he vested in trustees for augmenting small cures in his diocese, upon the especial condition, that the incumbents should constantly reside, and that the income of their parishes should not exceed £100 per annum; he also bought up £49 per annum, part of the estate of Sir John Eccles, and settled it for the support of a

lecturer in St. George's chapel, Dublin; he likewise purchased the lay rectories of Cruagh in the county of Dublin, and those of Ballintemple and Newcastle in the county of Wicklow, and collated respective incumbents thereto, divesting himself of the profits of said benefices, and retaining only the patronage. In the same year he preached before the lord mayor and magistrates of Dublin, on the mischief of delaying sentence against an evil work, taking for his text *Eccles.* c. viii. v. 11. This discourse has been printed.

In 1708 this prelate was of the privy council that issued a proclamation to prohibit the exportation of corn, grain, and meal from Ireland, on account of the high prices at which they were sold, occasioned, partly by the badness of the previous harvest, but yet more by several merchants exporting such quantities abroad, "that the poorer sort of inhabitants of this kingdom would be in danger of perishing, unless some speedy stop be put to the exportation thereof." In the same year he and the other Irish prelates employed Dean Swift, who had been an active member of the Irish convocation in the preceding year, to solicit the remission of the first fruits. He made his application to Lord Godolphin, with the encouragement of Lord Sunderland, Lord Somers, Mr. Southwell, and other leading members among the ministry, but it was ineffectual; as the grant of the first fruits and tenths in England had not been attended with the expected consequences, of reconciling the clergy to the ministers by whom the favour was bestowed, the

lord treasurer showed little inclination to repeat the experiment; yet he intimated to Swift, that the grant might be obtained on condition the Irish clergy were disposed to make such acknowledgments "as they ought;" or, as he reluctantly explained the phrase, better acknowledgments than had been made by the churchmen of England. Swift's inference was, that Godolphin suspected the clergy to be Tories, in the then received sense, that is, hostile to the Revolution and settlement of the crown; a suspicion which rendered his commission desperate; and, though he was afterwards raised to better hopes by Lord Pembroke, yet his first opinion proved just, and nothing was done in the matter until the administration of Lord Harley. In 1709 Archbishop King preached a sermon before Lord Wharton and the House of Lords in Christ Church, on divine predestination and foreknowledge as consistent with the freedom of man's will, taking as his text *Rom.* viii. v. 29, 30. Doctor John Edward commented on this effusion, as tending to lessen the divine attributes and perfections; but Doctor Copleston has highly commended it, in the notes to his "Inquiry concerning Predestination;" and the present Archbishop of Dublin, Doctor Whateley, in a re-print of the sermon with comments, says, "It is calculated to afford useful hints even to the most learned divine, to furnish the younger student with principles, which will form the best basis on which to build his whole system of theology; and to supply even the unlearned reader with the most valuable instruction, suited to a moderate ca-

pacity, on the most important points." In the parliament of the same year, Archbishop King was one of the seven prelates, who, much to their credit, protested against the bill for the further growth of Popery, as will be more particularly mentioned in the memoir of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Doctor Byrne.

In 1711, Doctor King, in a letter to Dean Swift, makes the following interesting allusion to the state of the times: "The preliminaries of our parliament are now over; that is to say, addresses, &c.; and I find the usual funds will be granted, I think, unanimously for two years from Christmas next, which is all the Duke of Ormonde desires; I do not see much more will be done; you will observe several reflections are in the addresses on the late management here, in which the Earl of Anglesey and I differed. If we could impeach, as you can in Great Britain, and bring the malefactors to account, I should be for it with all my endeavour; but to show our ill-will, when we can do no more, seems to be no good policy in a dependent people, and that can have no other effect than to provoke revenge, without the prospect of redress, of which we have too fatal instances. I reckon that every chief governor, who is sent here, comes with a design to serve first those who sent him, and that our good only must be so far considered as it is subservient to the main design. The only difference between governors as to us is to have a good-natured man, that has some interest in our prosperity, and will not oppress us unnecessarily, and

such is his Grace; but I doubt, whether even that will not be an objection against him on your side of the water; for I have found that those governors, that gained most on the liberties of the kingdom, are reckoned the best, and therefore it concerns us to be on our guard against all governors, and to provoke as little as we can. For he that cannot revenge himself acts the wise part, when he dissembles and passes over injuries. In my opinion, the best that has happened to us is, that the parliament grants the funds for two years, for by these means we shall have one summer to ourselves to do our Church and country business. I have not been able to visit my diocese *ecclesiastim*, as I used to do, the last three years for want of such a recess. . . . . Our letter is come over for the remittal of the twentieth parts, and granting the first fruits for buying impropriations and purchasing glebes, which will be a great ease to the clergy, and a benefit to the Church. We want glebes more than the impropriations, and I am for buying them first where wanting, for without them residence is impossible; and besides, I look upon it as a security to tithes, that the laity have a share in them; and, therefore, I am not for purchasing them but where they are absolutely necessary. We shall, I believe, have some considerations of methods to convert the natives; but I do not find that it is desired by all that they should be converted. There is a party among us that have little sense of religion, and heartily hate the Church; these would have the natives made Protestants, but such as themselves are deadly afraid they should

come into the Church, because, say they, this would strengthen the Church too much. Others would have them come in, but can't approve of the methods proposed, which are to preach to them in their own language, and to have the service in Irish, as our own canons require; so that between them I am afraid that little will be done."

In 1713 the House of Lords moved an address to the Queen in favour of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, wherein they expressed themselves as "obliged in justice to that excellent minister in all humility to represent unto your Majesty, that we do not find but that in the several eminent stations, in which he hath served your Majesty since his coming into this country, he hath acquitted himself with honour and integrity, as becomes a discerning and vigilant governor, an equal administrator of justice, a true lover of the Church as by law established, and a zealous assertor of the prerogative, in opposition to a factious spirit which hath too much prevailed in this nation."* When this address was voted, Archbishop King, who was throughout opposed to the Chancellor's liberal politics, headed the list of seven peers who protested against it. In July of the same year he obtained judgment from the English House of Lords in a cause long pending between him and Doctor Theophilus Harrison, then prebendary of the church of St. John in Dublin, and in the November following he preached the funeral sermon of Archbishop Marsh,

* Lords' Journals, vol. ii. p. 438.

taking for his text *Psalm* 112, v. 6. In May, 1714, he, Sir Constantine Phipps, and others were of the privy council, who issued the proclamation for preventing the enlisting of recruits in aid of the Pretender, and for the discovery of such persons as had theretofore promoted such enlisting. On the accession of George the First, the lords of the regency of England, having removed the Primate and Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor, from the government of Ireland, appointed as Lords Justices the Earl of Kildare and this prelate, who soon afterwards, on "some profligate persons having offered great indignities to the memory of King William the Third, by taking out and breaking the truncheon in his statue erected in College-green," did by proclamation declare "all concerned in that barbarous fact guilty of the greatest insolence, baseness, and ingratitude, and offered large rewards for their apprehension." In 1715 the act was passed empowering the Lord Lieutenant and Council to unite or divide parishes, to appropriate benefices with cure to dignities without cure, and to direct the erection of new churches, the same statute prescribing the modes of presentation thereto, and of endowing or augmenting the endowments of vicarages. By this act also a tract of land, called the burgery of Cloyne, which had been annexed to the see of Dublin, was transferred to that of Cloyne, charged, however, with a fee-farm rent of £26 per annum to Archbishop King and his successors for ever. In this session was likewise passed an act, which this prelate had long laboured to obtain, con-

firming the grants made by Queen Anne of the first fruits and twentieth parts, and also allowing those chargeable therewith four years for their payment. A letter of Doctor King to Dean Swift, from Suffolk-street, London, dated 22nd of November, 1716, evinces the amicable relations he wished to preserve with his clergy. "I am glad the business of St. Nicholas is over any way, my inclination was Mr. Wall, that I might have joined the vicarage of Castleknock to the prebend of Mullaghiddart, which would have made a good provision for one man, served the cures better, and yielded more then to the incumbent, than it can do now when in different hands; but I could not compass it without using more power over my clergy than I am willing to exert. But as I am thankful to you for your condescension in that affair, so I will expect that those with whom you have complied should shew their sense of it, by a mutual return of the like compliance when there shall be occasion; such reciprocal kind offices are the ground of mutual confidence and friendship, and the fuel that keeps them alive, and I think nothing can contribute more to our common ease and the public good, than maintaining these between you and me and with the clergy."

About the commencement of the year 1717, the celebrated Lord Wharton having come into this country, and been honoured with a seat in the House of Lords by the general consent of the peers, although he was then only eighteen years of age, one of his earliest political displays was levelled against this pre-

late, for some advice which it was alleged he had given to the late king; and, such was the address of the young orator on this occasion, that he persuaded the house to commit the archbishop to prison in the Castle of Dublin, where he remained until the same eccentric nobleman moved that his Grace might be brought to the bar of the house, acknowledge his presumption, and ask pardon upon his knees; terms with which the archbishop was actually forced to comply. In the same year he was again, however, one of the Lords Justices. A letter of his in the following year evinces, with what unwearied zeal he laboured to induce private assistance of pecuniary aids for ecclesiastical purposes. The epistle alluded to was written by him in reply to one from Mr. Secretary Southwell, wherein the latter had complained of gouty ankles. The archbishop, half seriously, half jocularly, tells him he wants money to build three or four churches, and if he would throw away a proper sum for that purpose, it might lighten the load of his riches, which they allege is very ill for the gout, and apt to strain his ankles: "I am," he adds, "now going into my forty-third gouty year, and, if I had not taken care to keep myself light that way, I had certainly been a cripple long ago. You see, then, your remedy; pray try it: a little assignment of a year's salary, though it may not cure your ankles, will certainly ease a toe." And in a subsequent letter he says more seriously and feelingly to the same person, "Consider you have received out of Ireland at least sixty thousand pounds since the Revolution, which

is more that the tenth part of all the current coin of Ireland ; and sure there ought to be some footstep of charitable work done to a kingdom, out of which you have drained so vast sums." Sundry other letters of this prelate, yet extant, are replete with abuses of the institutions of Ireland, and the beggary of the people by the mismanagement of its governors at this period. In this latter year (1718) Archbishop King held a synod or visitation in St. Patrick's Church, at which, in order to the due execution of the act for the union and division of parishes, it was directed that the clergy of this diocese should return lists of the townlands in their several parishes, and their respective distance from a church ; the names of the several patrons of their parishes ; what parishes or tithes were in lay hands, or appropriated to ecclesiastical corporations ; the amount of forfeited tithes, vicarial endowments, and curates' stipends ; the extent of glebes, or what lands might be conveniently obtained for such ; what unions or divisions might be eligible ; the state of the churches ; the comparative population of conformists, dissenters, and papists in the city of Dublin ; the yearly value of each parish, &c. &c.

In 1719 the act was passed for the better maintenance of curates, directing the ordinary to appoint stipends to be paid to them by the rectors or vicars, and to enforce payment thereof by sequestration. In the same session Archbishop King was one of sixteen peers, (eight being spiritual,) who protested against the act for exempting the Protestant dissenters of

Ireland from certain penalties to which they were then subject. He also protested against the bill for better securing the rights of advowson and presentation to ecclesiastical benefices. In the same year he published "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches, shewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the grounds of that office." At this period of his life, Dean Swift thus alludes to him in his "Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufacture, &c." : "I think it needless," he says, in reference to his project, "to exhort the clergy to follow this good example, because in a little time those among them, who are so unfortunate as to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat ; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have, indeed, seen the present archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture ; and yet, under the rose be it spoken, his Grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us."

Doctor King was vehemently opposed to the South Sea scheme, in reference to which, he wrote to Archbishop Wake in February, 1720 : "As to your South Sea affair, I told the fate of it last April, when it was at three hundred for one hundred, and the event has in every particular answered my prediction, which I set down in a few queries, which I shewed to my friends, but would not suffer them to be printed, because I understood that whoever said anything against the South Sea was looked on as disaffected to

the government and ministry, which is an accusation I would by no means lie under. I find both houses are pretty smart on the directors, but I hear nothing said concerning those whose office it was to prevent the ruin of the nation. If they did see that, and suffered it when it was so easy to prevent it, it is no hard matter to determine what they deserve : if they did not see it, they were the only blind set of men in the kingdom, and for the future ought never to be trusted in any public business, and beside that, chastised for meddling in the matters of which they were absolutely incapable, for surely such ought not to go unpunished ; but it is now no new thing to hang little rogues and let the great escape."* In another letter, dated in the following month, he draws a melancholy picture of the ruin induced in Dublin, by the bursting of that bubble, and the prevalence of absenteeism.

In 1721 this prelate granted to the Reverend Thomas Fetherston forty acres of land adjoining the river Annamoe, in the county of Wicklow, an endowment which was confirmed by Dean Swift ; and about the same time he gave £500 to the Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin. In that year he was, for the fourth time, constituted one of the Lords Justices, a trust which he fulfilled at all times with zealous attachment to the house of Hanover and the succession of the crown in that family. Yet it is not a little remarkable, that on the occasion of the parliament of that

* Autogr. in Brit. Museum.

year, when the lords voted an address to his majesty, "begging leave to return unfeigned thanks for his gracious acceptance of their expressions of duty and loyalty in former sessions of parliament," Archbishop King formally protested against these words, because, as he signifies, "I have always been against addresses of mere compliments between the crown and the parliament, believing they may be of ill consequence." It was at this session the statute was enacted, authorizing the increasing of glebes, with a special clause, empowering this prelate by deed enrolled to grant lands, whereof he was seised in his own right to resident curates and their successors. An act was likewise passed to encourage the residence of the clergy having cure of souls, and to enable bishops to grant two acres for Protestant schools in the several parishes. In 1723 the act 2 Geo. I. c. 14, for the real union and division of parishes, was further confirmed by parliament; and the act 2 Geo. I. c. 15, relative to the payment of the first fruits, was amended.

In April, 1724, Doctor King obtained a final judgment from the English House of Lords, against the Dean of Christ Church, who had successively appealed from the Court of Common Pleas to that of King's Bench in Ireland, and thence to the Court of King's Bench in England. In July of the same year, Doctor Marmaduke Coghill, writing to the Honourable Edward Southwell, while he announces the death of the primate, intimates "the wishes of the kingdom generally, that the Archbishop of Dub-

lin should succeed him." Doctor Boulter, however, was preferred to the primacy, which may account for the "open enmity, never to be reconciled," that the same Doctor Coghill in the following year states as existing between these prelates. The reason assigned for not giving the preferment to Doctor King yet more offended him, as that he was too far advanced in years to be removed, and the only opportunity that offered for manifesting his resentment, he embraced, when, receiving the primate at his own house and in his dining parlour, he remained in his chair without rising, and emphatically apologized in the words, "my Lord, I am certain your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise."

A letter of this prelate in the same year (1724) to the before mentioned Mr. Southwell, as spiritedly rebukes that personage in reference to the coinage of Wood's halfpence. "The people here are of opinion that you owed so much to your country, as to have ventured a little of your interest to have put this matter in a fair light, but they are persuaded that the design was all by artifice and cunning to pass these halfpence upon us, and they take it very ill that you have made yourself a tool in it." Swift, who in some other matters was much opposed to his Grace, warmly commends his opposition to Wood's coinage and his general character, particularly in the verses:

I sing not of the Draper's praise, nor yet of William Wood,
But I sing of a famous Lord, who seeks his country's good;

Lord William's Grace of Dublin town 'tis he that first appears,
Whose wisdom and whose piety do far exceed his years;
In every council and debate he stands for what is right,
And still the truth he will maintain whate'er he loses by't;
And though some think him in the wrong, yet still there comes a season,
When every one turns round about and owns his Grace had reason;
His firmness to the public good, as one that knows it swore,
Has lost his Grace for ten years past ten thousand pounds and more;
Then come the poor and strip him so, they leave him not a cross,
For he regards ten thousand pounds no more than Woods's dross.
&c. &c. &c.

About the same time Doctor King elicited similar approbation from the dean, by directing the clergy and churchwardens of the city of Dublin to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter to be worn by the poor of the several parishes, the badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., to be well sewed and fastened on the right or left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor; and he directed that none should go out of their own parish to beg, whereof the beadles were to take care. The project, however, proved ineffectual by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of its objects, who refused to receive the badges, or secreted them about their persons. In 1725 the acts were passed for the more effectual encouragement of free schools and the improvement of Church lands.

In and previous to the year 1726, the jealousy, which existed between Doctor King and the Primate

of Armagh, broke out in a controversy, wherein Boulter claimed an exclusive power, by grant from the crown to his see, of licensing marriages at uncanonical hours and places. The difference was most angrily conducted on the part of the Primate, who, as the leader of what was most unhappily termed the English interest, was diametrically opposed in politics to Doctor King. The declining health of the latter elicited a letter from his opponent, painfully illustrating the state in which he regarded his brother prelate. It is dated the 26th of January, 1726, and addressed to the Duke of Newcastle. "As his Grace of Dublin has been pretty much out of order, though I cannot hear for certain that he is in any great danger, several letters may go from hence representing him as dying; that such accounts may not occasion any hasty measures being taken, I must beg leave to suggest, that the archbishopric is a place of very great importance, and a good agreement betwixt the primate and the archbishop is of great consequence to the *English* interest here: I would therefore humbly entreat, that no steps may be taken about appointing his successor upon any rumours of his death, till my representations on that subject are considered, which I shall not fail to be speedy in sending, whenever it pleases God to remove his Grace."*

In 1726 he granted to Robert Dougat, Vicar of St. Peter's, and to his successors for ever, a piece of ground adjoining the glebe of St. Kevin's, containing

* Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 102.

3R, 6P., at 2*s.* 6*d.* annual rent, the grant being meant as an augmentation; and, about the same time, enjoined not only the incumbents, but also the curates of the parishes within his diocese, to preach four sermons in each year on controversial subjects.* On the accession of George the Second in the following year, many changes were made in civil and military employments, and more designed, when, several gentlemen having been removed on suspicion of their disloyalty, his Grace, who knew that some of them were well affected to the government, and their characters misrepresented to make room for the promotion of others, wrote to the Secretaries of State in their favour, asserting their fidelity to the king and capacity to serve him in their offices; and his interposition had in some instances the desired effect. At the same period, when Primate Boulter instituted a subscription for the relief of the Protestants of Lithuania, Archbishop King, however averse to "popery," yet sensible of the distress and poverty that surrounded him in Ireland, forbade all collection for foreigners within his province. In this year an act was passed, authorizing the recovery of tithes of small value before magistrates; another, encouraging the residence of the clergy and the granting of glebes; a third, enabling prelates and other ecclesiastical persons and corporations, to grant their rights of patronage in small livings to such persons as would augment the same; a fourth, for the better maintenance of curates; and

* Archbishop Cradock's Primary Charge.

a fifth, for better securing the rights of advowsons and regulating proceedings by *quare impedit*. In 1728, having previously considered that the mensal tithes of his see were of little value to the archbishops, as having been usually let out on leases, producing a total of only about £49 per annum, and that yet, being rectorial, they would be of great moment to the vicars of the parishes where they lay; he therefore so appropriated them, as to augment the following vicarages to the great advantage of their respective incumbents; the vicarage of Inch and Kilgorman, in the barony of Gorey, county of Wexford; the vicarage of Arklow, with the tithes of Kilbride, Templemichael, and Kilmacow; the vicarage of Bray, with the tithes of Connaught, Fassaroe and Ballyman; the vicarage of Derrylossory and Glendalough, with the rectorial tithes of the same, &c; while, in lieu thereof, he purchased for the see about thirteen acres of land, divided into closes and gardens, on the north side of Dolphin's Barns, worth at that time £65 8*s*. annually, and obtained an act of council to annex same to the see in perpetuity. He further expended the sum of £3000 in repairing and adorning the episcopal palace at St. Sepulchre's, which was in a ruinous condition, and he also erected a court house for its manor at his own charge, to which he joined a prison for the confinement of debtors.

In May, 1729, he died at the advanced age of eighty years, in the palace which he had so re-edified, and was buried on the north side of the churchyard

of Donnybrook, as he had directed in his life-time. By his will, bearing date the 6th of May, 1726, he devised to the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishop of Clogher, £400 towards purchasing glebes for such one or more churches in this diocese, as should seem to them and his executor in most need thereof, and, having in his life-time given £500 to the College of Dublin, towards founding a divinity lecturership, for the benefit of such bachelors of the said house as elected the sacred ministry, to the intent of better qualifying them for holy orders, he devised £500 more to his nephew the Reverend Robert Dougat, in trust to purchase a further maintenance and endowment for the said lecturership. He also left £150 to the poor of the city of Dublin, and, having purchased the library of his predecessor in Derry, Doctor Hopkins, he bequeathed it to Doctor Nicholson, then Bishop of Derry and his successors, in trust for the perpetual use of the gentlemen and clergy of that diocese.

Harris thus gives his character : " He appears, in the tendency of his actions and endeavours, to have had the advancement of religion, virtue and learning entirely at heart, and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest, the most universally accomplished and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the Church were visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence; in his strict and regular visitations, annual, triennial, and parochial ; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching ; and in the many excellent admoni-

tions and charges he gave his clergy upon those occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the Universities of England or Dublin, and who were before their ordinations publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon, and some of his chapter. His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character; and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving, for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace, that could adorn a public or private life." Swift characterizes him, in no less laudatory terms, as having ever been "a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender; and though a firm friend to the Church, yet with indulgence towards Dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect, yet, upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace; in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards; in short, in the practice of all virtues that can become a public or private life. This, and more,

if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age." The latter eulogy is the more creditable to both parties, as, notwithstanding all the esteem and respect those persons entertained for each other's qualifications, they were, nevertheless, embroiled in perpetual quarrels on points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A letter of the Dean to the Archbishop, in May, 1727, in reference to those disputes, is peculiarly sturdy and ungracious :— "My Lord,—I understand, by some letters just come to my hands, that at your Grace's visitation of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, a proxy was insisted on from the dean ; the visitation adjourned, and a rule entered that a proxy be exhibited within a month. If your Grace can find in any of your old records or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a dean of St. Patrick's, you will have some reason to insist upon it ; but, as it is a thing wholly new and unheard of, let the consequences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any ; it is only through them that you visit me ; and my sub-dean is to answer for me. I am neither civilian nor canonist ; your Grace may, probably, be both, with the addition of a dexterous deputy. My proceeding shall be only upon a maxim, never to yield to an oppression to justify which no precedent can be produced. I see very well how personal all this proceeding is ; and how, from the very moment of the queen's death, your Grace has thought fit to take every opportunity of

giving me all sorts of uneasiness, without ever giving me, in my whole life, one single mark of your favour beyond common civilities; and, if it were not below a man of spirit to make complaints, I could date them from six and twenty years past. This has something in it the more extraordinary, because, during some years, when I was thought to have credit with those in power, I employed it to the utmost for your service with great success, where it could be most useful, against many violent enemies you then had, however unjustly; by which I got more ill will than by any other action in my life: I mean from my friends;" &c. &c. &c.

Doctor King's literary productions have been enumerated in the course of the memoir; the chief of these, the State of the Protestants in Ireland, Burnet terms "a full and faithful account;" and, in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, reverting to its political tendency, describes it as "not only the best book that had been written for the service of the government, but, without any figure, it is worth all the rest put together, and will do more than all our scribbling for settling the minds of the nation." At this distance of time and test of its experience, the impartial critic will say, that the settling the minds of the nation was as little the object as it was the result; the work perhaps, more than any other, contributed to envenom the wounds which religious dissensions would not permit to close. Mr. Charles Leslie, by whom it was attacked, asserts that "there is not one single fact he has inquired into, but he found it false in

whole or in part aggravated or misrepresented, so as to alter the face of the whole story, and give it perfectly another air and turn, insomuch that, though many things he says were true, yet he has hardly spoke a true word that is told truly and nakedly without a warp." There is yet another line of view in which this work must offend every man who entertains sound principles of law and loyalty, for who, that can endure its perusal, will approve of an ecclesiastic advancing such principles, as that a king who *designs* to destroy a people abdicates the government; that no oath of allegiance obliges any subject to assist his prince in an ill cause; that the king and the people have a mutual power of dispensing with the laws, &c., &c., &c.

JOHN HOADLY.

[Succ. 1729. Resign. 1742.]

John Hoadly, the successor of Archbishop King, was born at Tottenham on the 27th of September, 1678, the youngest son of the Rev. Samuel Hoadly, and brother to the learned and celebrated Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester. The father of these illustrious brothers not only watched over their infancy with parental affection, but was himself their instructor in classic literature; he perceived with delight that they were possessed of unwearied industry and fine capacities, and, from a comparative estimate of their respective abilities, is said to have hazarded a prediction as to their future progress in life, which subsequent events did not altogether justify. My

son John, said he, will be a bishop, and Benjamin an archbishop; both attained episcopal dignity, but the archbishopric was conferred not on the elder, but on the younger of his sons.*

The subject of the present memoir was chaplain to Bishop Burnet, and by him installed chancellor and canon residentiary of the church of Salisbury, archdeacon of Sarum, and rector of St. Edmund's in that city, and was afterwards made canon of the church of Hereford by his brother when bishop of that see. By the king's letter of the 3rd of June, 1727, he was advanced to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns. George the First, however, having died on the 11th of the same month, before either he or his predecessor, Bishop Hort, could pass patent for their respective preferments, he procured confirmatory letters from George the Second, dated on the 10th of August, in the same year, and was consecrated in Patrick's Church on the 3rd of September following, by William, Archbishop of Dublin, and other assisting bishops. In 1708 he preached in the Cathedral of Salisbury, before the judges of assize and the grand jury, on the text from Daniel, "And those that walk in pride he is able to abase." In this, his sermon, he inveighed against following the latitudes of conscience and dissent in religious matters. "When men throw off the whole body of a Church government, because of some things that they dislike in that Church, and make a separation upon the account of what they

* Nicholson's Lit^y. Anecdotes, vol. iii.

confess to be lawful, it is to be observed, whether something besides conviction may not have a hand in it. And when those, who raise that government to an absolute divine necessity, yet resist and set themselves against the authority of those who are possessed of it, it is much if the haughtiness and ambition of some, making use of the malice or ignorance of others, be not the real ground of the contest, especially, if we see it managed with all the contempt and slander possible, with equal heat and equal falsehood. Pride is the ground of rebellion and unjust murmuring, of schism and opposition to our superiors; and so it is of the tyranny of superiors over those who are made subject unto them." In the same address, he thus alludes to the passing political scenes, and the respective characters of King Lewis the Fourteenth and Queen Anne. "A man, whom I doubt not, you have all along seen that I have been describing to you, the scourge of Europe for a series of many years, who hath brought slavery upon all under him, and been preparing it for all around him, by all the violence and base arts of pride and ambition. His own people he began with, whose liberties he hath completely ruined, and brought their parliaments and immunities and laws into the compass of his own will, and taken away from them the very countenance of freedom. Those of them, who professed not the king's religion, for that was the word, against the most sacred treaties, against repeated edicts, against all gratitude; men, that never did any thing to deserve it, except fixing him upon the throne, he hath

either compelled to leave their conscience or their country and friends and estates. His neighbours he has seized on by unjust pretensions, or invaded with groundless wars, or cheated with perfidious treaties, or swallowed by forgery and broken faith, never showing the least regard to justice or conscience, to decency or reputation in the accomplishment of any of his designs; but he hath in express terms, not been ashamed to make his glory the ground of a war, which he once undertook, that is to say, an unjust one; and, because God has suffered him to proceed with success in his tyranny, and hath made use of him as his axe and rod and staff, he hath been filled with pride, and courted the most scandalous flatteries, and assumed the titles of invincible and immortal to himself. And from the contraries of all these particulars, we may take a character of one, whom God is now pleased to make use of to abase the pride of this great tyrant; of one, who knows herself made for the good of her people; who imitates the goodness of him on whom she acknowledges her dependence, in making it her glory to spread the good effects of her power among her subjects; who feels the happiness of governing a free people, and will never teach or tempt them to violate that conscience, which is the security of their obedience; who, being easy and beloved at home, studies the peace and security of her neighbours, and sends assistance to the injured and oppressed; who returns the praise of all to God, whose authority, and not her own she bears; in short, one whose only pride is the power she hath to

make her own subjects happy, and others safe. This is she, whom he that is mighty hath magnified, and he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts," &c.

In 1715, on the elevation of his brother to the bishopric of Bangor, he preached the consecration sermon at Ely House chapel, selecting for his text 2 *Cor.* i. 12, in which, alluding to the Church of England and the establishment of the Protestant succession, he adds, " We have lately seen that Church and that government on the brink of ruin; but, by the blessing of God on the wise conduct of our governors, preserved to us. It might have lain very much in us, when we had foreseen that danger, to have prevented it by pressing that obedience, which had at other times been unreasonably exalted, and by teaching men not to surmise and murmur and be tumultuous, and it was not sincerity that made any who are in this Church and government careless and remiss in doing so; but now that the danger is, by the providence of God, gone over us, with no other effect but that of greater strength and security, it may lie in us to strengthen that security still further by preaching charity and peace and legal submission, by teaching men to place the unity of Christians not in opinions and outward worship, but in faith, and obedience, and love, and the happiness of a people in the right they have to their liberties, and in the enjoyment of a prince, who is a tender assertor of them." In 1717 Sir Peter King, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, presented him to the rectory of

Oakham in Surrey. In the same year he was one of the chaplains in ordinary to His Majesty, and preached before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the text 1 *Cor.* x. 11, in which he again warmly inculcated brotherly love and Christian charity. "It is a grief and a shame," he said, "that we should come into the house of God, charged with the resentment of party politics, which renders us not very well disposed to pray with that charity, which is necessary to our being forgiven, or to hear with that candour, which is necessary to our being edified;" and again, "There is nothing, I think, plainer in the rules of civil society, than that no man is to be abridged of his rights in it but for those things which immediately affect its security, and there is nothing plainer in the gospel, than that sincerity and godly simplicity is our proper rejoicing before our Judge, and that our union to Christ, our head, and to one another consists in a union of faith and love, and not in an outward conformity of worship; so that to compel men to this outward conformity, either by using them as schismatics from the body of Christ, or as unfit and dangerous members of the civil society, is not just either in politics or Christianity. I am free to speak thus of this matter, because all Churches are apt to be faulty in it, and all parties apt to make advantage of their uncharitableness to one another, and to confine the favours that are in their power to their own sect. Men, that have had ill designs, have ever made use of these prejudices to play their common enemies at one another, and each

side have been too glad to catch at these opportunities of destroying the other, though it hath been to their own ruin." In this sermon also the prelate indulged very fully his taste for political disquisition, and, as it was spoken on the anniversary of the martyrdom of King Charles, such a course was more pressed upon his attention; and he concluded with a eulogy of the new sovereign, even more elaborate than he had passed on Queen Anne during her reign.

At the close of the year in which King died, on the 13th of January, 1729, Hoadly was translated to this see. Dean Swift thus alludes to this prelate in one of his letters to Pope: "I am lord mayor of 120 houses, I am absolute lord of the greatest cathedral in the kingdom, am at peace with the neighbouring princes, the lord mayor of the city and the archbishop of Dublin, only the latter, like the King of France, sometimes attempts encroachments on my dominions as old Lewis did upon Lorraine." In November, 1739, the Duke of Devonshire being lord lieutenant, Doctor Hoadly was of the privy council, when the proclamation was issued, requiring all justices, magistrates, &c., to search for and seize arms in the possession of any Papist or reputed Papist, and to prosecute any Papist who should presume to carry arms contrary to the intent of the proclamation. In 1741 was passed the act 15 Geo. II. c. 5, enabling archbishops and bishops to demise part of their demesne lands, and to change the sites of their mansion houses; and, on the 24th of October of the following year, Doctor Hoadly

was translated to Armagh, having filled this see during thirteen years. In that interval he expended about £2,500 in overturning the ancient remains of the castle of Tallagh, and constructed from the materials a convenient and elegant episcopal palace. At the time of his translation to Armagh, the Duke of Devonshire was lord lieutenant of Ireland, and he, according to Doctor Kippis, made all solicitation for the primacy needless within an hour after the news of its vacancy had arrived in London. His expression to the king was, that he could not do without him there. "It is probable," adds Stuart,* "that as a politician and a leading member of the privy council, Doctor Hoadly adopted the system of his predecessor, Primate Boulter, and supported what was then absurdly styled the English interest in this country, in marked contradistinction to that of its aboriginal inhabitants, as if the prosperity of the one party were utterly incompatible with the welfare of the other, and the power of the state were solely upheld by the discords of the people." In accordance with this policy his name appears annexed to a proclamation issued by the privy council on the 28th of February, 1743, in which all justices of the peace and other persons officially empowered were strictly commanded to enforce the penal laws, enacted in the ninth year of the reign of King William, for the caption and imprisonment of all papal archbishops, bishops, jesuits, friars, and other ecclesiastics; but, as such transactions are more pro-

* Hist. of Armagh, p. 434.

perly referrible to the history of the Roman Catholic prelates, they are reserved for that portion of the work. In 1742 and 1744 he was one of the lords justices exercising the government of Ireland, and is recorded as having given peculiar satisfaction by his easiness of access, his general knowledge of the state of the country, his quick penetration, and the peculiar facility with which he despatched the public business. An instance of his liberality in the latter year will be found in the memoir of Doctor Linegar, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at that period.

After about four years' enjoyment of the primacy, he died at Rathfarnham of fever, on the 19th of July, 1746, at the age of 68, and was buried privately at Tallagh, in the same vault with his lady and her mother. A contemporary describes him as having been "pious, without superstition; charitable, without ostentation; learned, without pride; facetious and entertaining, without levity; and capable of adapting his conversation to persons of all ages, manners, and professions." It is not to be forgotten that Primate Hoadly was a skilful agriculturist; delighted in practical farming; and was beloved by his tenantry and the landholders of the country, among whom he had excited, both by his example and by judicious pecuniary rewards, a strong desire to improve their grounds, and a generous spirit of emulation. In the literary world, as a polemic writer, he displayed considerable acuteness and talent; and, although not so powerful in argument as his brother, yet the style of his composition was, perhaps, less intricate and

perplexed than that of the Bishop of Winchester, of whom Pope sarcastically wrote :

> " Swift for closer style,
> But Hoadly for a period of a mile."

In 1703 he published a quarto volume, in defence of Bishop Burnet's exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. He also printed a second work, in octavo, on the same subject, besides various sermons.

CHARLES COBBE.

[Succ. 1742. Ob. 1765.]

Charles Cobbe was born at Winchester, where he received the rudiments of his education ; hence he removed to Trinity College, Oxford, but took his degree of doctor of divinity in the University of Dublin on the 9th of March, 1735. His first ecclesiastical preferment was to the rectory of Skrine, in the diocese of Meath. He was afterwards appointed Dean of Ardagh, whence he was promoted to the sees of Killala and Achonry, by letter of privy seal dated 30th of May, 1720. In 1726 he was translated to the see of Dromore ; and from that, in March, 1731, to Kildare, with which latter dignity he held the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, and the preceptory of Tully, in the county of Kildare, in commendam. On the 19th of July, 1734, he was sworn of the privy council ; and was finally translated to this see by letters patent, dated 4th of March, 1742.

In the parliament of 1743 he was one of the spiritual lords, who desired leave to be absent from the trial of Lord Netterville, by protestation, "saving to themselves and their successors all such right in judicature as they have by law, and of right ought to have." At the same period he was one of the council, (the Duke of Devonshire being then viceroy,) who subscribed the proclamation of February 1743-4, alluded to in the life of Archbishop Hoadly. In September 1745, on the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland, he addressed a circular letter to his clergy from the palace of St. Sepulchre's, wherein he directed them: "First, frequently to remind those committed to their charge of the excellency of that holy Protestant religion, which it is their happiness to profess and which is by law established in this kingdom; to entreat them earnestly to be steadfast, even unto death, in the profession of it; to advise and caution them against the artful insinuations of all those, who would persuade them to think favourably of Popery; to lay open the pernicious tendency of its doctrines; and to recommend that spirit of concord and unanimity among Protestants of all denominations, which was ever more their duty, and, in circumstances of danger, their strength and security. Second, in their discourses from the pulpit, to lay open the nature and the consequences of the horrid crime of rebellion; to press upon their hearers the important duties of loyalty and obedience to his sacred Majesty King George, to which they were bound by the laws of God and man, and by

all the ties of public and private interest; to inculcate frequently and earnestly the dangerous absurdity there is in supposing, that their religion, their liberties, and their properties, could by any acts or conditions be secured under a prince bigoted to Popery, and bred in the tyrannical principles of arbitrary government; and to exhort them constantly and warmly to offer up their prayers to Almighty God, with the utmost fervency and devotion, to bless the arms of his Majesty against his foreign and domestic enemies," &c. &c. With this abhorrence, however, of "Popery" in connexion with the State, it is creditable to this prelate to record, that when a bill was introduced in the House of Lords, of a very severe penal nature against the Roman Catholic clergy, in 1757, he and the Protestant Primate of Armagh spoke most strenuously against it, and, although it was read a third time in that house, they contested it to a division on every reading. Their minority on the last occasion was twenty-one to twenty-four, nor indeed should it be forgotten, that in this minority were, of the Protestant hierarchy, four archbishops and ten bishops, only four prelates being amongst the supporters of the persecuting measure.

In 1759 Archbishop Cobbe was very active in procuring the investment of the charitable donations, bequeathed by Andrew Wilson, Esq. and the Reverend William Wilson of Piersefield, in the county of Westmeath, for the purpose of an hospital for such aged men, being Protestants and decayed housekeepers of said county or other adjacent counties, as should

be approved by the trustees of his will, their number not to exceed forty; and also for the habitation of such number of Protestant male children of the said county or counties as approved of, not exceeding 150, and also to build a school adjoining to said hospital, said men and children to be supplied with diet and clothing, their dress to be blue bound with orange, &c. Doctor Cobbe procured a bill to confirm this endowment, and to enable himself and the other trustees to make leases of the lands so devised, being upwards of 3000 acres, the annual rental of which was some few years since estimated at £5000.

Archbishop Cobbe died at St. Sepulchre's, on the 12th of April, 1765, in the 79th year of his age, and was interred at the church of Dunabate near Dublin, a large portion of which parish his Grace's descendant and namesake, Charles Cobbe, Esq., inherits. By his will he left £200 to the Incorporated Society, and £50 towards building a chapel at the work house.

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

[Succ. 1765. Ob. eodem anno.]

The Honourable William Carmichael was the second son of the second Earl of Hyndford, and brother of the third. In 1742 he was appointed Archdeacon of Bucks; on the 5th of January, 1753, was consecrated Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh; in 1756 he preached the anniversary sermon on King Charles's martyrdom before the House of Lords, and received the usual vote of thanks; in 1758 was

translated to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns, and in the same year to that of Meath. On the 12th of June, 1765, he was further translated from Meath to this see, but died on the 15th of December in the same year at Bath. He married Mrs. Godschall in August, 1734, but left no issue.

ARTHUR SMYTH.

[Succ. 1766. Ob. 1771.]

Arthur Smyth, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Derry, was by letters patent of March, 1752, promoted to the united Bishopries of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, and was consecrated in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, by John, Archbishop of Tuam. By letters patent of January, 1753, he was translated to the sees of Down and Connor; by privy seal dated 1st of October, 1765, was further translated to the see of Meath, and thence on the 14th of April, 1766, to this archbishopric. He died at his palace of St. Sepulchre's on the 14th of December, 1771, and was buried with great solemnity in the choir of St. Patrick's cathedral, where a superb monument was erected to his memory, designed by Mr. Smyth, the architect, and sculptured by Van Nost.

Archbishop Smyth amassed, during his preferments, property to the amount of £50,000, of which he bequeathed £1000 to augment the funds of Swift's Hospital, £200 to the poor of St. Sepulchre's, and £50 to those of the parish of Tallagh. His character has been thus drawn by his successor:

"He was endowed with talents, and qualified by experience for a due execution of the great trust committed to him, and both had received improvements from, (what is unquestionably a great acquisition but at the same time a rare felicity to those of our order,) travel and observation. He had penetration to discern, at the most critical conjunctures, and firmness to accomplish, upon the most trying occasions, what appeared to him for the real benefit of the community, either in Church or State. In a word, his attention to his duty kept pace with his knowledge of it. How great his regard was for places of worship, and how justly he is to be ranked in the number of those, who, in the warmth of David's phrase, 'have set their affection to the house of their God,' appears from the improvements made by him, at no inconsiderable expense, in the choir of the ancient and venerable fabric of St. Patrick's. His attention to the distresses of the most forlorn and pitiable of the human species, is fully evinced by his liberality to St. Patrick's Hospital, an institution as humane and considerate as was ever planned in any country, and well worthy of its great founder, Swift."*

JOHN CRADOCK.

[Succ. 1772. Ob. 1778.]

John Cradock was born at Wolverham, educated at Cambridge, where he took his degree of doctor of

* Archbishop Cradock's Primary Charge.

divinity, and by the patronage of Lord Gower became rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and subsequently chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, whose duchess was the daughter of Lord Gower. He accompanied this nobleman to Ireland in 1757, and, in two months after his patron's appointment to the viceroyalty of that country, Doctor Cradock was himself elected to the see of Kilmore; and on the 4th of December following consecrated bishop thereof, in St. Michael's Church, Dublin. In February, 1772, he was translated to this see, and held his primary visitation in the June of that year, in which he particularly inveighed against the Jesuits, recommended the preaching of occasional controversial sermons, exhorted his clergy to attend to the state of the charity schools, to visit and frequently inspect the charter schools, ordered terriers of the several parishes of the diocese to be completed and registered, and copies of the registries of baptisms, marriages, and burials in each parish to be given in annually at the visitation, enforced the expediency of the liturgy, residence of the clergy, &c.

In 1773 he was one of the eighteen peers, who protested against the passing of a bill, for securing the repayment of money lent by Papists to Protestants on mortgages of land; "Because," as the protest sets out, "all the laws made in this kingdom against Papists have been the effect of their rebellions and treasons against the State, and are to be considered as tending to preserve the Protestant interest against the encroachments of Popery; because the bill tends,

in part, to repeal the Popery laws, which were made by those who immediately saw and experienced the intolerant principles of the Popish religion, and its enmity to the civil rights of mankind; because that, as attempts to introduce bills in favour of Papists have become frequent, the number of converts to the established religion has decreased in proportion, and this decrease is particularly observable in the two last years; because the great object and tendency of the Popery laws being to prevent an increase of Popish influence, and to operate as encouragements to conformity, this bill tends to defeat both these purposes; because the Papists, who have now no other method of employing their money than in trade, or by lending it on personal security, or by subscribing to the public loans, and thereby contributing to support the credit of this kingdom, will, should this bill pass into a law, be induced to call in all the money, which they have lent on personal security to tradesmen and manufacturers, which, as we conceive, forms a considerable part of that capital by which the trade of this country is supported, and thereby necessarily lessen the extent of our trade, cause a considerable decrease in our exports, and, consequently, reduce many of our manufacturers to want and beggary, or force them to seek employment in foreign countries; nor, as we conceive, will the evil consequences of this bill stop here; for, should the public have occasion for future loans, it is not to be imagined that Papists will lend their money at four per cent. to government, (as they now do,) or, even at four and an

half per cent., when they can lend it on mortgages, at an interest of six per cent.," &c. &c.* In 1777 he incurred the vituperative assaults of Doctor Duigenan, who, in the pamphlet "*Lachrymæ Academicæ*," took occasion to censure him, on account of his having, as visiter of Trinity College, spoken rather favourably of the Provost Hutchinson, against whom that pamphlet was written. Doctor Cradock died on the 11th of December in the ensuing year, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Cole says he was "a portly, well-looking man, of a liberal turn of mind, and a social and generous disposition."

ROBERT FOWLER.

[Succ. 1778. Ob. 1801.]

Robert Fowler, Doctor of Divinity and Prebendary of Westminster, received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the successive degrees of bachelor of arts in 1747, master of arts in 1751, and doctor of divinity in 1764. In 1771, during the administration of Lord Townsend, he was promoted to the see of Killaloe and Kilfenora, and on the 28th of July, in that year, consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral by the Archbishop of Dublin. In 1773 he was ordered by the House of Lords to preach before them at Christ Church on the 2nd of October, "being an anniversary thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Protestants of this kingdom

* Lords' Journals, vol. iv. p. 702, &c.

from the Popish massacre in 1641." On the 22nd of December, 1778, during the administration of Lord Buckingham, he was translated to this see; his letters patent were passed on the 8th of January following, and, on the 13th of the same month, he was solemnly enthroned in Christ Church.

In 1782 he was one of twelve spiritual peers who protested against the bill for the relief of the Dissenters, as likely to promote every species of clandestine and improvident marriages, and those even within prohibited degrees, without publication of bans and without license or consent, &c. In 1789 he concurred with fourteen other peers in protesting against the memorable address of the Irish House of Lords to the Prince of Wales, and against their resolution, that by such address they discharged an indispensable duty, "because," as the dissentients alleged, "the assuming a right in the Lords and Commons of Ireland alone, to confer upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addressing his Royal Highness to take upon him such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law so to do, seems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous, in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional union, whereby this realm of Ire-

land is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connexion the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends; and we are the more apprehensive of danger, lest the so doing should be considered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance, or derogation of the king's majesty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland."* He also joined in protesting against the resolution of the lords, that the answer of the lord lieutenant, refusing to transmit the address, was disrespectful to his Royal Highness and conveyed an unwarrantable censure on both houses of parliament.

During the two last years of his life he resided for the benefit of his health at Bassingbourne Hall, near Dunmow in Essex, a seat which his Grace had purchased from the Earl of Bandon, and there he died on the 10th of October, in the year 1801, leaving issue one son the present Bishop of Ossory, and two daughters, the eldest, Mary Countess of Kilkenny, the second married to the Hon. Richard Bourke, next brother of the Earl of Mayo.

CHARLES AGAR.

[Succ. 1801. Ob. 1809.]

Charles Agar was the third son of Henry Agar, of Gowran Castle, in the county Kilkenny, Esq., by Anne, only daughter of William Ellis, Bishop

* Lords' Journals, vol. vi. p. 243.

of Meath. He was educated in Westminster school, and subsequently at Christ Church, Oxford; in the hall of which college is his portrait, as also the portrait of his grandfather, Welbore Ellis, and of his uncle, Welbore Ellis, Lord Mendip. Having entered into holy orders, he was appointed first chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland whilst lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1763; from which situation he was promoted to the deanery of Kilmore, and to the see of Cloyne in 1768. In 1779 he was translated to that of Cashel, over which he presided for twenty-two years, and during that interval completed the repairs of its fine cathedral and erected a new choir. He also caused all the old churches in the diocese to be restored, eleven new to be built, nine new glebes to be purchased, and nineteen glebe houses erected. At this period of his life, he acquired £40,000 on a single fine for the Palliser estate, by running his own life against that of the existing lessee. In 1795 he was elevated to the peerage as Baron Somerton, and yet higher, as Viscount Somerton in 1800.

In 1801 he was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and was one of the representative spiritual peers in the first imperial parliament. In 1806 he was further dignified with the title of Earl of Normanton. He also enjoyed the honours and offices of privy councillor, trustee of the linen manufactory, governor of the Lying-in Hospital, and vice-president of the Charitable Musical Society; during all which preferments, he is said to have amassed a fortune of

£100,000. In 1807 he and the other prelates of the Established Church were commanded by his Majesty, to make a minute return of the state of the Irish Church in their respective provinces and sees, and in a visitation of the same year he directed, with a too long deferred regard for the working clergy, that the incumbents of the diocese should for the future pay to their curates £75 per annum, instead of £50 theretofore allowed. In the following year, he was the promoter of a bill for securing the estates and funds devised by the Rev. Richard Daniel, in trust to apply the profits for the relief of the poor of St. Luke's parish in the city of Dublin, the support of the hospital of incurables and other charitable institutions, &c. In the July of the following year, becoming sensible of the approach of death, he presented his son (the present Archdeacon of Kilmore) to the valuable prebendal stall of St. Michael in Christ Church Cathedral, and, dying on the 14th of that month, in the 73rd year of his age, at his house in Great Cumberland-street, London, was buried in Westminster Abbey. He left issue by his wife, the daughter of Mr. Benson a merchant of Dublin, three sons, to the eldest of whom his heraldic honours descended, and a daughter who had intermarried with Viscount Hawarden.

The inability or reluctance of his Grace's relatives to afford any materials for this memoir, leaves only the foregoing particulars to record, while in truth the principal events of this prelate's life are more legitimately connected with the Church history of

Cashel; and it remains only here to add, that in his time the act was passed for vesting in the Crown the archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchre, and applying the purchase money for the purposes therein named.

EUSEBY CLEAVER.

[Succ. 1809. Ob. 1819.]

This prelate was a native of Buckinghamshire. His father, the Rev. William Cleaver, was for many years master of a very respectable school at Twyford, in that county, whose vicinity to Stowe, with the high character of this divine, caused his introduction to the Grenville family. His eldest son became thereupon tutor to the Marquis of Buckingham while that young nobleman was a student at Christ Church, Oxford, an event which in due time produced important results to the whole family; for, while the elder brother obtained the bishopries of Chester, Bangor, and St. Asaph, in succession, the younger, the subject of this notice, who also received his education in Christ Church, where he took the degree of master of arts in 1770, and in 1778 that of doctor of divinity, was preferred in 1783 by the Earl of Egremont to the rectory of Tillington and another benefice in Sussex; and in 1787 accompanied the Marquis of Buckingham on the occasion of his second residence as a viceroy in Ireland.

In March, 1789, he was consecrated Bishop of Cork, in June of the same year translated to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns, as bishop of which he, in

1801, on the disfranchisement of the ancient borough of Old Leighlin, claimed the usual compensation money, £15,000, on the allegation that "it had been usual and customary for the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, to nominate and appoint chiefly the beneficed clergy of the united dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns, as burgesses of the said corporation, which gave the said dioceses an interest in the rights and advantages of the same." He finally obtained this archiepiscopal dignity in 1809. No circumstance of public interest has been discovered respecting him while in this his last and highest preferment. After a long residence in Ireland he married a lady of that country, by whom he had several children, and died in the close of the year 1819 at Tunbridge Wells.

JOHN GEORGE DE LA POER BERESFORD.

[Succ. 1820. Resign. 1822.]

This prelate was the third son of the first Marquis of Waterford. In 1805 he was consecrated Bishop of Cork, in 1807 was translated to Raphoe, and in 1819 was further translated to the see of Clogher. In 1820 he succeeded Archbishop Cleaver in this dignity. In 1821 he procured an act, enabling himself and his successors to demise the mansion house and demesne of Tallagh, belonging to this see, long the country residence of its prelates; and in the following year he was further promoted to the primacy of Armagh, which dignity he still enjoys, and to whose Church history the memoir of his life is more especially referrible.

WILLIAM MAGEE.

[Succ. 1822. Ob. 1831.]

The subject of the present memoir, having been the son of persons in a very humble station of life, was not indebted for any of his promotions to the ordinary advantages of family or fortune. He entered as a sizer in the University of Dublin, and in the studies of its course soon manifested his proficiency, especially in the metaphysical and ethical sciences; and in due time, after ordination, obtained a fellowship, and the assistant professorship of oriental tongues in the said establishment. In 1797 he preached a "thanksgiving sermon on the delivery of this kingdom from invasion." In 1801 he published his "Discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice," a work more illustrative of erudition than genius; but, undoubtedly, the great cause of his promotion in the Church. In 1802 he preached and published a "Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the Earl of Clare," an undeviating effusion of panegyric from beginning to end; and in 1804, a "Memoir of the Life of the celebrated Doctor Percival of Manchester." About the year 1806 he became a senior fellow and professor of mathematics, and, being intimately acquainted with every branch of that science, he selected, for the use of the candidates for fellowship, a course both concise and elementary. The popularity, which his work on the Atonement had by this time acquired, caused his promotion in 1813 to the deanery of Cork, from which

dignity he was advanced in 1819 to the see of Raphoe.

In October, 1821, he held his primary visitation of that diocese, on which occasion he delivered a charge, of which the following extracts may prove interesting: speaking of confirmation, he said, "It may be conceived as the consummation of baptism; it gives to that rite, in common view, significancy and substance; and what before appeared as the gratuitous adoption of the unconscious infant into the visible Church of Christ, becomes now the voluntary acceptance of the Christian covenant, and the spiritual initiation of the intelligent and instructed; so that with those, who cannot comprehend the value of infant baptism, it may be considered, with a certain latitude, as the baptism of the adult. Again, as confirmation is prescribed by the Church, as the legitimate introduction of the young Christian to the holy communion, it presents itself as an intelligible and connecting medium between our two great sacraments. . . . ." In the same discourse he deprecated all deviations from the rubric in administering divine service. "In the course of my circuit," he says, "I observed parts of the Liturgy disturbed from their due order; in some, certain prayers were omitted; in some, they were altered; and, on the whole, liberties were taken, not unfrequently, with the directions of the Rubric, as if the performance of the service were left to the direction of the individual minister; or, as if some of the matters prescribed were of such trifling import, as to render it a thing of indifference, whe-

ther they were conformed to or not. . . . . They, who dissent from the Rubric, offend against the law of the land, for the Act of Uniformity enjoins on them an undeviating adherence to all its forms; and they break through their own most solemn engagements, for, on their admission to holy orders, as well as on their appointment to their several cures, they have bound themselves repeatedly, by their deliberate and recorded declarations, to an exact conformity to the Book of Common Prayer." Further, alluding to the existing variations in the discipline of the Church, he condemned the administering of baptism in private houses, impugned the conduct of such clergymen as mingled in secular pursuits. "If they act so, they are not only acting in violation of their vows and in defeasance of their usefulness, but they are flinging from them that very respect and estimation which they are making these sacrifices to obtain. . . . The parish priest becomes lost in the country gentleman, and the spiritual guide superseded by the sociable companion." In this charge he styles the Socinians "the most presumptuous, and the least informed of all sects."

In 1822 he was translated to the see of Dublin by the late Lord Liverpool, and held his primary visitation immediately afterwards in St. Patrick's Cathedral, when, instead of enforcing and recommending that conciliatory spirit, so recently urged by King George in his parting injunction to his Irish subjects, he fulminated a sweeping denunciation against the immense majority of those subjects, and, in a childish indulgence of that figure of oratory,

that is the most dangerous to indulge in, he rashly insulted them, on the hard labour of whose hands his revenues, and those of his clergy, then so greatly depended. In his charge on this occasion he says, "we, my reverend brethren, are placed in a station in which we are hemmed in by two opposite descriptions of professing Christians, the one possessing a Church, without what we can properly call a religion, and the other possessing a religion, without what we can properly call a Church; the one so blindly enslaved to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority, as not to seek in the word of God a reason for the faith they profess, the other so confident in the infallibility of their individual judgment as to the reasons of their faith, that they deem it their duty to resist all authority in matters of religion. We, my brethren, are to keep clear of both extremes, and, holding the scriptures as our great charter, whilst we maintain the liberty with which Christ has made us free, we are to submit ourselves to the authority to which he has made us subject." Turning from this ill-judged and unfounded strain of abusive antithesis, he inveighed with more propriety against the exercise of private judgment, and the wandering of clergy or congregation to fashionable churches. The parochial clergy, he adds, should carefully consider, "how far their negligence or frequent absence from their appropriate station, or their substitution of others for the discharge of duties properly their own, may have produced this evil, by undermining the respect and interest with which the parish minister

should always be viewed. . . . . The parish minister has no right to depute another to the charge assigned to him, but under the special authority by which that charge had been conveyed. There is no point in which the laws of the Church are more peremptory and more unqualified than in this, that no person shall exercise the functions of a preacher or parish minister, without the express permission of the bishop within whose diocese he wishes to officiate." Alluding to the duty of clerical residence, he thus beautifully expressed himself. "The clergyman should be the true parish priest, in continual contact with his flock,—one whose voice they know, not only in constant residence amongst them but in continual intercourse with them;—their adviser, their friend, the moderator of their disputes, the composer of their differences, the careful instructor of their children;—not content merely to afford spiritual aid where it may be demanded, but vigilant to discover where it may be applied, and prompt to bestow it where it will be received;—stimulating all, and particularly the young, to come to that fountain of living waters which it is his office to dispense, and proving to his people by every possible exertion, that the first object he has at heart is their everlasting welfare." In this charge he further deplored "the relaxed state of Church discipline in this country," and especially in the diocese of Dublin, which, "for a considerable series of years, had been deprived of the advantage of effective episcopal control," adding, that, except in the time of his immediate predecessor,

"the discipline of this diocese might be said to have been totally neglected." It is to be remarked, that one of perhaps the ablest letters even Doctor Doyle ever wrote, was an overwhelming comment on the arrogant and uncharitable portion of this discourse.

In consistence with this avowal of bigotry, Doctor Magee became subsequently the great promoter of the new Reformation in Ireland, a species of religious agitation which effected no object, but to disturb the Christian charities of the country, and whose agitation has not even yet subsided. His opposition to the burial of a Roman Catholic in the churchyard of St. Peter's parish, on the pretext of some legal form not having been complied with, was the consummation of his sectarian virulence, and by actually necessitating the establishment of Roman Catholic cemeteries, and enforcing exclusiveness in the grave, he out-heroded all the efforts that unchristian ingenuity ever concerted even for the division of Ireland. His conduct on this occasion was brought before parliament in a petition signed by Mr. Devereux, of the county Wexford, and Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, of the county of Mayo. He is known also to have prohibited the natives of the valley of Glendalough from celebrating mass, as they had theretofore done, in their ancient and venerated cathedral of St. Kevin, availing himself of his right as archbishop to the ground on which the chapel stood. His evidence in 1825, before a committee of the House of Lords, is an eloquent testimony to his character and opinions, indeed to the whole story of his life; but as it has

been the only portion of these "Memoirs," which the author could have wished he was not necessitated to sketch, he much prefers referring the reader to what it can answer no national or charitable object to reprint; and on the same principle he has studiously avoided any details or comments, that were not absolutely necessary for the illustration of the subject. In the latter period of his life he was reduced to a state of feebleness and childishness, that was ungenerously characterized as the immediate visitation of Providence. On the 2nd of August, 1831, he was attacked by paralysis, died on the 18th of the same month at Redesdale House, near Stillorgan, aged 66 years, and was buried within the ruins of the ancient church of Rathfarnham. It but remains to mention, that during his life-time he provided munificently for his sons, four of whom he brought up in his own principles and profession.

RICHARD WHATELEY.

[Succ. 1831. Vivens 1838.]

All endeavours to obtain for this work any authentic or satisfactory particulars of the life of Doctor Whateley having utterly failed, even in quarters where a refusal could least be expected, the following notice must be considered rather a catalogue of his Grace's literary productions, than a memoir of his life; as, however, his name is in truth more associated with these productions, than with any ecclesiastical or political act of importance, and as his Grace is still

living in the public eye and estimate, the deficiencies of this sketch may be the more easily excused.

In 1821, being then a fellow of Oriel College, he re-published Archbishop King's work on Predestination, with comments. In 1822 he preached the annual eight Bampton sermons before the University of Oxford, selecting for his subject, "the use and abuse of party feeling in matters of religion." In the following year he published five sermons, which he had preached before the same body: 1, on the Christian duty of obedience to the rulers; 2, on the Christian duty of obedience to the laws; 3, on national blessings and judgments; 4, on the use of human learning in matters of religion; and 5, on Christ being the only priest under the Gospel. In this latter, although he speaks of "the superstition and tyranny of the Romish Church," he yet "beseeches both parties to lay aside all bitterness of animosity, and abstain "from branding each other too hastily as persecuting bigots, or as lukewarm latitudinarians, nor rashly to attribute to their opponents motives which they disavow." In 1825 he published "Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion," which he dedicated to Lord Grenville. In 1826 "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian." In 1828 "Essays on the Writings of St. Paul," and "Elements of Rhetoric." In 1829 a very curious little work, entitled "Scripture Revelations on a future State." And in the same year, his "Elements of Logic," a work which the Edinburgh Review has handled very severely, characterizing its author as "indistinct, am-

biguous, and even contradictory," and adding, that "it is only by applying the most favourable impression to his words, that he can be allowed credit for any thing like a correct opinion." In 1830 he was principal of St. Alban's Hall, and published his "Errors of Romanism," under the several heads of 'Superstition,' 'Vicarious Religion,' 'Pious Frauds,' 'Undue Reliance on human Authority,' 'Persecution,' and 'Trust in Names and Privileges;' this work he dedicated to the Reverend Joseph Blanco White. In 1831 he was principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, when he gave to the world his "Essay on the Omission of Creeds, Liturgies, and Codes of Ecclesiastical Canons," and his "Introductory Letters on Political Economy."

In the latter year he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin; in 1832 published "Essays on Secondary Punishments;" and in 1835 a volume of fifteen sermons delivered by him in his diocese. From all these works the writer of "Random Recollections of the House of Lords" has drawn the following estimate of his Grace. "He is better known as an author than as a legislator; in the former capacity he stands unrivalled among his contemporaries in the particular departments of literature to which he has specially applied himself. His works on rhetoric and logic are perhaps the best which have ever been written on the subjects. They abound with evidences of profound thought, varied knowledge, great mental acuteness, and superior powers of reasoning; but his theological creed cannot, according to the representations

of persons who have entered the lists with him, be commended for its orthodoxy."

The brevity of these "Memoirs," in reference to the later archbishops, is not to be attributed to any neglect or omission of their compiler in applying, both by public advertisement, and by private letters, for fuller and authentic materials; and he confidently hoped, that the magnitude of the undertaking in which he was engaged, with such a devotion of his time, his researches, and his money, would be cheerfully responded to by every competent authority. In the above important instance, however, his expectations were utterly extinguished, and, with the single exception of Mr. Cobbe of New-Bridge, the individuals applied to either refused to answer; or, as in the instance of one other more intimately connected with a memoir, absolutely refused to communicate what he could not but have well known. On newspaper notices, written in a temper and time when the acts of many of the respective prelates were the rallying points of a party, it would be utterly unsafe, and contrary to the spirit of this book, to rely, as it would equally, and for the same reasons, on the oral information of mere politicians. Had these "Memoirs" been extended with such details, they would have been a tissue of popular opinions not of historical truths.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC

ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN,

SINCE THE REFORMATION.

In commencing these Memoirs, it is a painful duty to express, at once, surprise and regret, that so little has been done for the biography of the many, who have distinguished themselves in the arduous and long persecuted profession of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland. It would have been but a long merited tribute to departed piety and excellence; yet, is still suffered to descend only in oral traditions from generation to generation, more uncertain and, consequently, less revered by each successive transmission. While a code of religious persecution, that assumed to legislate for the worship of the Deity, was suffered to crush the spirit and voice of Ireland, it could hardly be expected, that any attempt should be made to draw into notice the preachers and prelates of the proscribed faith; the writer, the printer, the vender, the collector of their

martyrologies would but subject themselves to participate in their sufferings. But, happily, those times have passed, and what was then, perhaps, a justifiable silence, is now a sacrilegious apathy. The ecclesiastical history of the Island of Saints should not be deficient in so important a portion; and, while the writer of this work will cheerfully contribute his collections to so creditable a design, he hopes that the patriotic contributions of others will not be wanting hereafter, to fill up this hiatus in the literary pomœrium.

After Hugh Curwen had, in 1559, abandoned the faith which he early professed, the parliamentary assertion of Queen Elizabeth's supremacy, and the imprisonments, banishments, persecutions, and ecclesiastical spoliations, that ensued, as recorded in the "*Analecta Sacra*" of the eloquent Doctor Roth, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, prevented the appointment of a prelate to this province for upwards of forty years; during the whole of which interval, such severities were exercised over consciences, as were sufficient to impel the most peaceful and enduring people to vengeance and insubordination; nor was foreign influence wanting to effectuate such unhappy consequences. The Roman Catholic potentates on the continent were soon apprised of the ordeal to which their faith was subjected in Ireland; and ambition and sympathy united to attract their attention and direct their energies to its estrangement from British government; yet, is it a proud testimony to record, that all political intrigues were incompetent

to loosen the allegiance of this suffering but loyal people.

At length a riotous insurrection, headed by James Fitz-Maurice, the brother of the Earl of Desmond, provoked by the imprisonment of that unfortunate nobleman, and magnified at the Spanish court into an open rebellion against Elizabeth, induced Philip the Second to afford to the importunity of the insurgent chief a troop of about eighty Spaniards, while he at the same time sent with the expedition a Franciscan friar, named Matthew de Oviedo, charged with the important duty of ascertaining the true state of Ireland, and making his report upon its prospects. Happily the expedition was wholly unsuccessful, the rash leader perished in a brawl, and de Oviedo returned to his native country, whence, however, he was destined to revisit this in a capacity more legitimately connected with the object of this work. Succeeding efforts to seduce the Irish into a rebellious vindication of their wrongs were equally ineffective, and it is grateful to read over the list, which O'Sullivan records, of those lords and chieftains, who, while subjected to all the penalties of professing the Catholic religion, renounced their resentments, adhered to the interests of Queen Elizabeth in defiance of foreign influence and assumed authority, and fought against the King of Spain, against O'Neill, O'Donnel, and O'Sullivan. Those "deluded Irish," as the latter chieftain would fain characterize them, were found in both classes of the Irish proprietary, as well the native Irish chiefs, (amongst whom are enumerated Denis O'Brien,

Earl of Thomond, Mac Carthy Dun, chief of Carbry, Cathal Mac Carthy, chief of Muskerry, Maurice O'Brien, Baron of Inchiquin, O'Conor Don, titular King of Connaught, O'Melaghlin, Prince of Meath,) as many of the great lords of the English pale; (amongst whom appear the names of the Earl of Ormonde, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Dunboyne, Bourke, Baron Castleconnel, Ulic Bourke, and his son Richard Earl of Clanrickard, Theobald Bourke, —— Bermingham, Baron Dunmore, Henry, William, and Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Lords of Kildare, St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth, Preston, Lord Gormanston, Nugent, Baron of Delvin, Fleming, Baron of Slane, Barnewall, Baron of Ballysmale, in Meath, Plunket, Baron Dunsany, Plunket, Baron of Killeen, &c.) Not all the innovations and persecutions that taunted them could shake the allegiance of these illustrious laymen, nor were the majority of the clergy, although, perhaps, more keenly sensitive of the trials of the faith, less temperate in their demeanour towards the tyrants of the day. "Candour obliges us to acknowledge," says Leland, "that the Romish clergy at this period," speaking of the era of the armada, "did not uniformly concur in exciting the Irish to insurrections. Sullivan himself confesses, although it was his business to represent the religious zeal of his countrymen in the most advantageous point of view, that a considerable party among this clergy recommended a dutiful submission to government, and opposed the practices of their more intemperate brethren."*

* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 306.

The passiveness of the subject did not, however, ingratiate the good-will of the ruler; the feelings of the Irish Catholics continued to be insulted, with such circumstances of exasperation as are best pourtrayed in a letter of the 14th of March, 1599, from the Earl of Desmond to the King of Spain, published in Stafford's Pacata Hibernia. "We are of long time," writes Desmond, "opprest by the English nation; their government is such as Pharaoh himself never used the like, for they content not themselves with all temporal superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood and perpetual destruction; to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity, as also our old Catholic religion, and to swear that the Queen of England is supreme of the Church;" and he thereupon craved the King of Spain to assist him against his oppressors. "Assist me in this goodly enterprise with some help of such necessaries for the wars as your Majesty shall think requisite, and (after the quiet of my country) satisfaction shall be truly made for the same; and, myself in person, with all my forces, shall be ready to serve your Highness in any country your Majesty shall command me."

Upon receipt of this letter, the Spanish monarch again invited from his monastery the ecclesiastic before alluded to, and, by his interest at the court of Rome, Matthew de Oviedo revisited Ireland in May of the year 1600, in the high and responsible situation of Archbishop of Dublin.

MATTHEW DE OVIEDO.

[Succ. 1600. .]

This ecclesiastical emissary and agent of Philip the Second, was born in Segovia, and received his education at Salamanca, "where," writes Samuel Lewkenor in the reign of Elizabeth, "all kind of learning was by most excellent men, with incredible industry, professed." He subsequently became a Franciscan friar, and presided for some time over the monastery of his order, at Toro in the diocese of Zamora in Old Castile.* On his revisiting Ireland, as before mentioned, although appointed to the ecclesiastical government of Leinster, he immediately proceeded to fulfil what seems to have been a more congenial object; and, without a notice or observation of his diocese, he hurried into Ulster, eager to deliver his credentials to the chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell, who still exercised an almost uncontrolled sovereignty over that province. As soon as he had assured himself of their services in the meditated Spanish invasion, he returned to his royal master, who seemed so confident in his powers of negotiation, as to attach him to the suite of Don Juan D'Aguila, with whom, and the Spanish forces designed for the emancipation of Ireland, he landed at Kinsale on the 2nd of October, 1601. Immediately on their arrival, a proclamation, which had been printed in Spain in the September of that year, and was addressed to the Catho-

* Wadding. Annal. T. v. p. 246.

lics of Ireland, was promulgated by Don Juan. In this manifesto, with the avowed policy that might be supposed to actuate a Spanish government, D'Aguila bitterly upbraided them for not considering, that Elizabeth was an excommunicated heretic, and that they could not fight in her cause without being heretics themselves; and, after lavishing the fairest promises on the Irish gentry, if they would abandon the queen, he concluded by declaring, that, if they would obstinately persevere in supporting the cause of an excommunicated heretic, he would be compelled to treat them as incorrigible heretics themselves, and to persecute them as such even unto death.* Yet, although his most strenuous efforts were warmly seconded by the presence and exhortations of de Oviedo, a prelate of their own communion, neither temptation nor threats could alienate the loyalty of Irish Catholics. "None of account," admits Moryson, "repaired to the Spaniards, except some dependants of Florence Mac Carthy, who was then in prison, and had invited them over. Don Juan offered six shillings per day to every horseman among the Irish that would join his standard, so that it is a wonder unto us, that from present staggering they fall not into flat defection."†

On the 12th of October, 1601, Archbishop de Oviedo wrote to O'Neill and O'Donnell a letter, in which he openly avows himself the liege subject of

* O'Conor's Histor. Address, p. 11.

† Moryson's Itinerary, f. 136.

the Spanish monarch. "Pervenimus in Kinsale cum classe et exercitû Regis *nostri* Philippi, expectamus vestras excellentias quâlibet horâ, veniant ergo quam velociter potuerint, portantes equos quibus maxime indigemus, et jam aliâ viâ scripsimus, non dico plura. Valete. Frater MATHEUS, Archiep. Dublinien."* In the January following it was deemed advisable that de Oviedo should be sent back to Spain with despatches, especially from the Desmond party, in order to consult thereupon with his royal master. Previously, however, to his departure he wrote to Florence Mac Carthy, the Mac Carthy More of the crisis, informing him, that after his (the archbishop's) arrival in Ireland, having knowledge of his lordship's valour and learning, he had an extreme desire to see, communicate, and confer with so principal a personage, but that the danger of the way would not permit him. "I am now," he says, "departing into Spain, with grief that I have not visited those parts, but I hope shortly to return into this kingdom and into those parts to your satisfaction; and be assured, that I will perform with his Majesty the office that a brother ought to do, that he should send aid from Spain. Yo MATEO, Arcobispo de Dublin."† He at the same time communicated his hopes and wishes to the Earl of Desmond in the following terms:— "My most honourable good Lord,—Having long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the same is now offered by Mr. John, whereof I am very glad,

* Pacata Hibernia, p. 198. † Ib.

that by such a most sure and faithful messenger I might open my mind to your lordship, as also to shew that most certain and undoubted hope of aid is shortly to come; I would most willingly have come unto your lordship's presence, which lately I have essayed, and doubtless would have done, unless I had been hindered by those lords which told me that present and imminent dangers were to be feared in my journey, unless I had an army of soldiers to conduct me, and now, (but that there is a necessity of my returning into Spain,) I would have come to you in the company of Master John. But I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall return unto you again. In the mean time I have pretermitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to our Catholic master, as any other whosoever, which now also in Spain I will perform: I would therefore entreat your Excellency that you would be of a good courage, together with all other of your faction, and that you would fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and the liberty of your country, knowing and firmly hoping that the help of my lord the Catholic king is now coming, which, when it cometh, all things shall be prosperous, and will place you in your former liberty and security, that ye may possess your desired peace and tranquillity. The Almighty conserve your lordship in safety long to continue. From Donegal, the thirteenth of January, 1601." After the prelate's departure a letter was intercepted from the Duke of Lerma to him in the following terms, as translated in the Pacata Hibernia: "I have

received your lordship's letters, giving thanks to God for the success of your journey, for by it it appears that there is a way and door open for many good purposes for his service; and his Majesty hath much confidence of the care and zeal which your lordship hath for the progression in the same. Now we send you a good body of men, with such things as is necessary, and more shall be prepared, and so continue sending as much as we may, whereof you need not doubt; for his Majesty, whom God preserve, holds it before his eyes; forasmuch as the most important thing, appertaining to this business, is the joining of the earls with Don Juan de Aguila, His Majesty commandeth your lordship to do in it your utmost endeavour, according to the confidence he hath in your zeal. God preserve your lordship. From Valladolid, the fifth of December, 1601. El Duque de Lerma, Marques de Denia."

The utter discomfiture of the deceived but chivalrous Don Juan, extinguished the designs of Spain in this country, nor did his ecclesiastical coadjutor ever again revisit it. A fugitive and a wanderer from the diocese of his charge, de Oviedo passed the remainder of his days in Spain, a pensioner on the court, and died in obscurity. Fortunately for the interests and welfare of this country, his was the only instance of what may be properly called foreign influence in the appointments to this high dignity.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, and the accession of the son of Mary Queen of Scots to the throne, the hopes of the Irish Catholics naturally revived; they

commenced fitting up the chapels, re-building the convents, and even restoring the ancient rites and ceremonies; the hemisphere brightened, the fountains of persecution seemed closed at once, and the long exiled were returning to their families and homes. "Never did any monarch," as the late Doctor O'Conor justly observes, "ascend a throne under such happy auspices, as those under which James ascended that of Ireland. Harassed by the Tyrone wars our great chiefs were glad of an opportunity, which that accession afforded, to settle the peace of the kingdom on a foundation of permanent security. For this purpose they proclaimed, with loud and universal enthusiasm throughout every part of the kingdom, that James was a monarch of their own race; that the blood of their ancient kings flowed in his veins; that their ancestors had crowned Robert Bruce at Dundalk, in 1315, for that very reason; that their monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that by the law of tenistry they could elect any senior, provided he was of the royal race; that James was of that royal race; that he was destined by Providence to sit on the *Liafail*, the sacred stone of inauguration of the Irish kings, which is still preserved at Westminster; that he would unite three kingdoms as the shamrock, the symbol of the Trinity; and that he would heal all the wounds which had been inflicted on Ireland throughout the preceding period of 440 years. James himself, and the learned of Scotland, concurred with the bards of Ireland in this grand principle of hereditary descent," but, as the nephew of the venerable doc-

tor observes in his *History of the Irish Catholics*, (p. 16.) "James, of all men, was the most unfit for composing the disorders of the times; a determined and implacable enemy to the Catholic religion, he alienated its professors from all attachment to his government by the virulence of his antipathy; one of his first gracious proclamations imported a general gaol delivery, except to *murderers and Papists;* on his arrival at Newcastle, the frontier town of England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners except to those confined for treason, murder, and papistry; and, by another proclamation, he pledged himself never to grant any toleration to the Catholics, and entailed a curse on his posterity if they granted any. To Ireland he was equally hostile; he and his ministers conceived that its prosperity would be the undermining of England; that tranquillity and order would produce a rivalship of trade and manufactures, that a union amongst its inhabitants might operate to the dissolution of the connexion. To prevent that union, to keep up distinctions and animosities, to exasperate parties, became accordingly the great objects of his policy. His views were favoured by the state of things at his accession, and of that state he took advantage with a degree of address and malignity creditable to his talents for oppression."

On the 22nd of February in the first year of his reign, a proclamation issued from the court of Westminster, commanding all priests, secular and regular, within the kingdom, to abjure the realm before the 19th of March ensuing; and all archbishops, bishops, lieute-

nants, justices of the peace, &c., were ordered to be vigilant and careful after that day, in discovering and apprehending such priests as should remain contrary to the proclamation. "And we doubt not," proceeds the document, "but that when it shall be considered with indifferent judgment, what causes have moved us to use this providence against the said priests, all men will justify us therein; for to whom is it unknown into what peril our person was like to be drawn, and our realm into confusion not many months since, by a circumstance first conceived by persons of that sort," (alluding to the plot, which, by the initiated, was called the Bye; and, for which two priests were executed and embowelled alive;*) "who, having prevailed with some, had undertaken to draw multitudes of others to assist the same by the authority of their persuasions and motives, grounded chiefly upon matter of conscience and religion, which, when other princes shall duly observe, we assure ourselves, they will no way conceive that this alteration groweth from any change of disposition now more exasperate than heretofore, but out of necessary providence to prevent perils otherwise inevitable; considering that their absolute submission to foreign jurisdiction, at their first taking orders, doth leave so conditional an authority to kings over their subjects, as the same power may dispense at pleasure with the straitest hand of loyalty and love between a king and his people. Amongst which foreign powers, although we

* See Lingard, Hist. Engl. vol. vi. p. 16.

acknowledge ourselves personally so much beholding to the now Bishop of Rome, for his kind offices and private temporal carriage towards us in many things, as we shall be ever ready to requite the same towards him, (as Bishop of Rome in state and condition of a secular prince,) yet, when we consider the course and claim of that see, we have no reason to imagine, that princes of our religion and profession can expect any assurance long to continue; &c."

A similar proclamation of the 4th of July, 1605, which de Burgo has preserved, issued from Westminster, directing all Jesuits and priests to leave Ireland before the ensuing tenth of December; and a further denunciation of this devoted hierarchy was fulminated from the palace of Greenwich, on the 10th of June, 1606, wherein, after alluding to the celebrated plot of Catesby, Guy Fawkes and others, as "the late most horrible and almost incredible conjuration to blow up us, our children, and all the three estates in parliament assembled," they, as its alleged instigators, received "the last warning" to depart the realm, on pain to incur the uttermost danger of the laws; and, adds the king, "we do hereby protest, that this is done with no other purpose but to avoid the effusion of blood, and, by banishing them presently out of our dominions, to remove all cause of such severity as we shall otherwise be constrained to use towards the other sort of our people, as long as these seducers shall have opportunity, to betray their consciences and corrupt their loyalty."

In Ireland persecution raged, not only against the priests but against the chiefs of the nobles and

the people; and, while on the one hand, Pope Paul the Fifth, by a brief of the 22nd of September, 1606, prohibited them, however persecuted they might be, from attending Protestant churches, sermons, or service, the king on the other, "sent instructions to the State for administering the oath of supremacy to the Catholic lawyers and justices of the peace, and for putting the laws against recusants in strict execution. Accordingly, of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin, summoned before the privy council, nine were censured in the Castle-chamber; six fined each £100; the other three in £50 each; and all were committed prisoners to the Castle during the pleasure of the court. It was at the same time ordered, that none of the citizens should bear offices until they had conformed."* On this occasion, adds Leland, "all the old English families of the Pale took the alarm, and boldly remonstrated against the severity of these proceedings; they denied the legality of the sentence, by which those severities were inflicted; and urged, that, by the statute of the 2nd of Elizabeth, the crime of recusancy had its punishment ascertained; and that any extension of the penalty was illegal and unconstitutional. This remonstrance was presented to the council by an unusual concourse of people; but the chief petitioners were confined to the Castle of Dublin, and Sir Patrick Barnewall, their great agent, was by the king's command sent in custody into England."†

* Curry's Hist. Rev. p. 41.

† Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 421-2.

Tyrannical as was this treatment of the Catholic laity, amidst "the calmest and most universal peace that was ever known in Ireland," that of their clergy was still more rigorous. A detail of their sufferings would be an irksome undertaking, and it must suffice to refer to one instance immediately connected with the affairs of this province. Robert Lalor, a native of Ireland, who, about the year 1578, had received orders from Doctor Brady, then Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore, was, by the Pope, on the continued absence of de Oviedo, appointed vicar-general within the diocese of Dublin and those of Kildare and Ferns. This jurisdiction he exercised fearlessly and openly, until the period of the latter proclamation before alluded to, when, although he, at the hazard of his life, continued to perform the rites and service of his Church, prudence suggested frequent changes of his name and place as necessary to his personal safety. At last, however, he was apprehended in Dublin and committed to prison in the Castle. On his first examination, taken by the lord deputy himself, he acknowledged that he was a priest, and ordained by a titular bishop; that he had accepted the title and office of the Pope's vicar-general in the three dioceses before named, and had exercised spiritual jurisdiction *in foro conscientiæ*, and in sundry other points he maintained and justified the Pope's ecclesiastical authority; but denied his power to excommunicate or depose his Majesty. He was accordingly indicted on the Act of Supremacy, arraigned, convicted and condemned, and so rested in prison

during the next two terms. He then petitioned the lord deputy that he should be set at liberty, whereupon he was again examined before Sir Oliver St. John, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir Jeffry Fenton, the attorney and solicitor-general, when he made a confession, as Sir John Davis alleges, that he was not a lawful vicar-general; acknowledged that king James was supreme governor in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, without any control of the Pope; that the bishops ordained by the king were lawful bishops; that no bishop made by the Pope had power to impugn the acts of his Majesty's bishops; and, lastly, professed himself willing to obey the king in all his lawful commands, either concerning the function of priesthood, or any other duty belonging to a good subject. Such at least was the confession which the government of the day would fain have attributed to him; but, when his friends and those of his religion heard of it, and consequently remonstrated against it as an act of apostacy, he protested to them that he had only (as seems far more probable) acknowledged the king's civil and temporal power, without any confession or admission of his authority in spiritual causes. This being reported to the lord deputy, he caused him to be indicted anew, as having incurred the pain of præmunire, by exercising episcopal jurisdiction as vicar-general to the Pope and by virtue of a bull, contrary to the act 16 Ric. II. c. 5, a statute which Sir John Davis, then attorney-general for Ireland, very judiciously relied upon as framed in Catholic times of such high antiquity, as could not

subject its provisions to the popular clamour that might be raised against those of modern innovation. In vain did Lalor plead that he was not within the statute; first, as he was no suitor for the office of vicar-general, but it was imposed upon him, and he accepted it *virtute obedientiæ* only to obey his superiors; next, as he only exercised the office of vicar-general *in foro conscientiæ,* and not *in foro judicii;* and lastly, that certain copies of institutions, dispensations, and divorces, which were produced against him as evidences of his exercising the office, were written by his clerk as precedents, without his privity or direction. At length, "the day being far spent, the court demanded of the prisoner if he had any more to say for himself? his answer was, that he did willingly renounce the office of vicar-general, and did humbly crave his Majesty's grace and pardon, and to that end he desired the court to move the lord deputy to be favourable unto him. Then the jury departed from the bar, and returning within half an hour found the prisoner guilty of the contempt whereof he was convicted. Whereupon the solicitor general moved the court to proceed to judgment, and Sir Dominick Sarsfield, knight, one of the justices of his Majesty's chief place, gave judgment according to the form of the statute whereupon the indictment was framed."* The sentence, however, was never executed.

In 1607 Pope Paul the Fifth, in consideration

* Sir John Davis's Reports, p. 277.

of the difficulties of access to the sacraments in this country, and the paucity of priests to administer them, enlarged the time for Easter communion to the festival of the Ascension, a regulation which still prevails. In the same year an anonymous letter was dropped in the council chamber at Dublin Castle, which Archdall gives at full length in a note in Lodge's Peerage, (vol. i. p. 237,) wherein a wild scheme of conspiracy was announced, as designed by the Catholics, without affording a single clew as of names, descriptions, or any other circumstances to test its veracity, yet the most implicit credit was volunteered to the narrative by the government party, the greatest terror was affected, the garrison of Dublin was reinforced, and the Castle put in a posture of defence. The malevolence of the report was soon established, and, during the three succeeding years, persecution only exhibited itself in threats and rumoured intentions, a circumstance which de Burgo attributes to the king being engaged, during that interval, in composing a defence of the oath of supremacy against the exposition of the Pope and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. At length, on the 10th of July, 1610, Sir Arthur Chichester, then viceroy of Ireland, issued a proclamation against the practice of some going to foreign countries, and others sending their children to be educated at the universities of the continent; the prohibition was made an engine of cruel inquiry and infliction, and the charities of Christian intercourse were again dissolved. In the ensuing year, Eugene Matthews was appointed Ro-

man Catholic Archbishop of this province, after a lapse of ten years since its desertion by de Oviedo.

EUGENE MATTHEWS.

[Succ. 1611. Ob. 1623.]

At the earliest period, in which any notice can be discovered of this venerable prelate, he appears in the station of parish priest of Clogher, from which charge he was elevated to its bishopric on the 31st of August, 1609, and on the 2nd of May, 1611, was translated to this archiepiscopal dignity. It was a crisis of danger, and but one "little month" intervened, when Andrew Knox was transferred from the bishopric of Orkney to that of Raphoe, with the avowed object of extinguishing the Catholic faith in Ireland. By his immediate advice in council, those cruel proclamations issued against religion and education, requiring all the Papist clergy to quit the kingdom under pain of death, enjoining that none should send his child, relative, or ward, to be educated in foreign seminaries, and that those, who had already sent such, should recall them within one year; prohibiting any Papist from filling the office of schoolmaster or teacher; subjecting the harbourers or favourers of a Popish priest to confiscation of their goods; requiring that all persons should attend the Protestant churches on Sundays and holidays, and that all churches, destroyed during the wars, should be rebuilt at the expense of the Papists, &c.;*

* De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 618.

and all these measures of Draconic severity were directed to be enforced with jealous and arbitrary vigilance. It is a painful reflection, that the spirit of such legislation should have emanated from an ecclesiastic. The Pagan priest of nature would, by the tender precepts of transmigration, have opened the benevolences of the heart even to the brute creation; but this Christian prelate would, by the operation of a callous code, have closed them against his brother and his neighbour. The factors of persecution rioted with impunity over the land; spies traversed the cities, the villages, the fields; they scrutinized the habits, opinions, and thoughts of men; threats and terrors were poured over the devoted people; but, when the hand of a faction was heaviest upon them, when even the sovereign of their allegiance combined against their liberties, they adhered more tenaciously to their ancient faith, and to the priesthood of their service and sufferings.

In 1613 the statute of Elizabeth, imposing a penalty of twelve pence on every one absent on Sundays and holidays from church, was strictly enforced in many places; but, on complaint that the fines were not disbursed to the poor, according to the provisions of that Act, the Lord Deputy Chichester informed his Majesty, that, as regarding such moneys as were levied in the county of Dublin, they were "left in the hands of the Clerk of the Crown by a special order from the Lord Deputy and Council, to be employed in repairing of churches and bridges and like charitable uses; because," he adds, "the poor of the parishes, who

are not yet indicted, are not fit to receive the same, being recusants, and ought to pay the like penalty." At length, in the July of this year, the Catholics of Ireland resolved on sending a deputation, to represent to the king their grievances and the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant, and they accordingly made arrangements for a private collection amongst themselves to defray the expenses of the expedition; the Viceroy Chichester, by proclamation, prohibited any such assessment, yet the deputies proceeded to England, offered at the foot of the throne the supplications of humanity, and had apparently a gracious reception. The king appointed four commissioners to visit Ireland and investigate the subject, but their report was, as might be expected, favourable to the Deputy, and all charges against him were dismissed as frivolous and unjustifiable.

On the 1st of May, 1614, King James, in his opening speech to parliament, gave bitter utterance to his hostility against the Irish Roman Catholics; and on the 31st of the same month issued his royal proclamation against the "titular" prelates and clergy of Ireland, commanding them to quit the kingdom before the 30th of the ensuing September, under pain of being cast into a "narrow and strongly fortified prison," and there dealt with "according to justice and the nature of their offence."* Notwithstanding these denunciations, Archbishop Matthews in the ensuing month presided at a conference, held in

* De Burgo. Hib. Dom. p. 630.

the city of Kilkenny, for the reformation and good government of the province of Dublin, on which occasion decrees were passed; 1st, for the reception of the canons of the council of Trent, as far as compatible with the time and circumstances; 2nd, for the establishment of vicars, and the appointment of deans to preside over the priesthood; 3rd, for the due qualifications of the parochial clergy before appointment, and their duties after, in the administration of sacraments within their respective parishes, the teaching the Christian doctrine, instructing their congregations in sermons, exhorting them to frequent confessions, and explaining the necessary dispositions to derive benefit therefrom, observing constant residence amongst those committed to their care, adopting a decorous dress when on duty or in their own houses or those of friends, &c.; 4th, for the due administration of the sacrament of baptism, and in particular the discontinuance of immersion of infants in this rite, and the substitution of the present mode by aspersion on the head. This canon also enjoins the immediate registry of the names of the children baptised, their parents and godfathers and godmothers, the date, &c., and prohibits the exaction of any dues from the known poor, for administering this or any other sacrament, under pain of suspension; 5th, for the decorous celebration of "the awful mystery of the sacrifice of the mass," and in particular, referring to the calamity that compelled the Roman Catholic clergy of the time to celebrate it in unconsecrated spots, and in the open air, this canon

directs, that at least a clean place should be selected where the altar might be sheltered from wind and rain, strictly prohibits the introduction of any prayers that are not in the Missal according to the Rubric, the exaction of alms without the permission of the ordinary, the exhibition of relics as in a country where they might be irreverently treated, the celebration of mass or any religious duties by an ecclesiastic in an external parish without the leave of the ordinary, and even restrains the ordinary's discretion therein, prohibits exorcisms and such superstitious practices, discountenances patrons at fountains and trees, and directs the tests of Christian doctrine and faith, on which alone persons should be admitted to confession; 6th, for the publicity and registering of marriages, the due qualifications of the contracting parties, and the prevention of clandestine contracts, or with wards or minors without the consent of parents or guardians; 7th, for the maintenance of the priests ("inasmuch as the ecclesiastical revenues were in the hands of those opposed to their Church,") by collections from their flock according to their means and with their consent; 8th, for the morality of the clergy, their abstaining from mercantile pursuits, worldly traffic, farming, and especially from intermeddling in the affairs of the State or political questions; 9th, for restraining preaching on articles of faith or controversy, by any but those licensed to do so by their ordinary, and after an approved course of theological studies; 10th, for preventing disputations on matters of faith, or discussions on religious subjects during

the lighter hours of conviviality; 11th, for the due observance of days of fasts or abstinence; with a number of other regulations and canons equally creditable to the prelate's benevolence, his prudence, and his knowledge of human nature.

On the occasion of the regal visitation of 1615, the commissioners thus reported, in reference to this diocese, "the names of such jesuits and other eminent priests as are appointed by the Pope, and do exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction therein."

"Owen Matthews, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, harboured in Dublin secretly: Hollywood, a jesuit, kept and harboured by Sir Christopher Plunkett: Everard, brother to Sir John Everard, resorteth often to this city, and secretly is harboured: Lennon, a famous priest, kept by Nicholas Netterville: and Talbot, brother to William Talbot, is lately preferred to be vicar-general of the diocese of Dublin and Kildare for his brother's constancy in England."

On the 13th of October, 1617, a proclamation issued from the Castle of Dublin, for the expulsion of all the regular clergy, and an individual of the name of John Boyton was commissioned to discover them, wherever they could be had; by him several were accordingly detected, and some of the nobles, who sheltered them, were also thrown into prison,* while the judges were instructed by the Lord Deputy, St. John, to enforce on the ensuing circuits the penalties and fines against recusants, who refused to

* Ware's Annals.

attend the Protestant service, the order being subscribed, amongst others of the council, by Archbishop Thomas Jones.

The succeeding years of Doctor Matthews's existence give but the records of a persecution too general to be appropriated to his memoir. Suffice it to say, he was at length obliged to yield to its advances, and retired in his old age to the Netherlands, where, in 1623, the last year of his life, he was instrumental in founding a Roman Catholic college at Louvain, which received its appointments from the Propaganda at Rome. Immediately previous to this event, Lord Falkland was sent Viceroy to Ireland, with the novel commission to grant liberty of conscience to the Catholics; but so much was he overruled by the feelings of the Irish faction, who were nourished by their privations, that in four months after his arrival he reiterated the proclamation, commanding all Catholic priests, as well secular as regular, to leave the kingdom; such has been the caprice and selfishness of too many of those Deputies, to whom the honour of the crown and the happiness of the people were committed. On the meditated visit of Prince Charles, however, to the court of Spain, this interdict was allowed to slumber.

THOMAS FLEMING.

[Succ. 1623. Ob. 1666.]

Upon the death of Archbishop Matthews, Doctor Thomas Fleming, of the family of the barons of Slane, a Franciscan friar, and for some time a pro-

fessor of theology in Louvain, was, on the 23rd of October, 1623, at the early age of thirty, deputed to the ecclesiastical government of this province by Pope Urban the Eighth, from whom he thereupon obtained letters apostolic, assuring the protection and patronage of his Holiness to the colleges founded on the Continent for the Irish priesthood, and also otherwise sanctioning and facilitating the mission in Ireland.* Paul Harris, a secular of the diocese, took occasion to inveigh bitterly against this and other selections of prelates from the class of the regulars. "If any," he says, "desire to know the names and numbers of our present friar bishops of this kingdom, they be as follow: Thomas Fleming, alias Barnewall, alias White, Archbishop of Dublin, Franciscan; Boethius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, Franciscan; Hugh Magennis, Bishop of Down, Franciscan; Ross Mac Geoghegan, Bishop of Kildare, Dominican; Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, Augustinian; which last is the only indifferent friar bishop under the clergy, of all that ever yet were sent into this kingdom. Some others we have, who, albeit they were elected out of the body of the clergy, yet because, standing upon their own feet they were not able to reach the apple of episcopal promotion, they mounted upon the friars' shoulders, and by their alone means have obtained the same, and for that cause are little more loving to the clergy, or less beloved of the friars than the former."

On the accession of Charles the First to the

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* De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 874.

throne, fairer prospects seemed to open for the Irish Catholics, and the royal instructions, directed on the 24th of May, 1626, to Lord Falkland for the government of Ireland, declared, That his Catholic subjects of that country are to be admitted to sue their liveries, ouster les mains, and other grants depending in the court of wards, taking only the oath of allegiance, and any other oath to be forborne in that case; that Irish lawyers are to be admitted by the judges there to practise the law, taking only the said oath, &c. But the true motive, for this apparent relaxation of hostility to the Catholics, will be found in the royal anxiety to effectuate the proposed gift of £120,000, then sought to be contributed by the Irish, of which, as the proportion of Catholics was at that time, according to Sir William Petty, as eleven to two, the larger part was to be defrayed by them; the better, therefore, to induce their acquiescence, the king gave his solemn promise, that, in the next session of parliament, the grievances complained of should be redressed, and the above instructions were accordingly framed as a forerunner of what was called the Graces. The money was paid, but the Graces never appeared; and Lord Falkland even ventured to indulge his own line of politics, by issuing a proclamation on the 1st of April, 1629, importing, "that the late intermission of legal proceedings against Popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and others of that sort, that derive their pretended authority and orders from the see of Rome, in contempt of his Majesty's royal power and authority, had bred such an extraordinary insolence

and presumption in them, as he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his Majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their Popish rites and ceremonies." "The proclamation," adds Cox,* "was baffled and ridiculed every where. It was read in Drogheda by a drunken soldier in such a ridiculous manner, that it seemed like a May game, and was rather sport than terror to the auditors. It was so despised and contemned by the Popish clergy, that they nevertheless exercised full jurisdiction even to excommunication, and they not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the confidence to erect a university at Dublin in the face of the Government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England." The lenity, with which Cox would insinuate that this proclamation was used, is however contradicted by the occurrences that took place on the attempted suppression of the house of Carmelites in Cook-street, as detailed in the memoir of Archbishop Bulkeley, and, as best expressed in the language of an almost contemporaneous chronicle. "About this time the archbishop and mayor of Dublin seized upon several priests in that city in the act of massing, their trinkets were taken from them, the images battered and destroyed, the priests and friars were delivered up to the soldiers, whom some Papists endeavoured to rescue, but in vain, for, a far stronger power appearing with the magistrates, they were repelled; twelve

* History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 53.

Popish aldermen were imprisoned for not assisting the mayor, and, upon their misbehaviour and mutiny, fifteen houses were seized and forfeited to the king, the friars and priests were ordered to be prosecuted, and two of them, to avoid justice, hanged themselves in prison; and yet, notwithstanding all this, some would have us believe that Popery was connived at, nay tolerated in their times, and that by the governors and government of that kingdom; but how truly such things are said may sufficiently from hence appear."* In the end indeed Lord Falkland's "strict though legal administration in regard to the Papists, whom the court was inclined to favour, raised the loudest clamours against him from that party, who caused him to be dismissed from his viceroyalty with some circumstances of disgrace."†

During all these years, the before mentioned Paul Harris, who had conceived such an early prejudice against Doctor Fleming, was unremitting in his tirades against him and the regular clergy, and, in a work which he entitled "Olfactorium," was so especially severe, and criminatory of the Dominicans, that the archbishop felt himself obliged to cause inquiry to be made into the matter, the result of which proving favourable to the regulars, the prelate published his desire, that, "in order to preserve peace, concord, and Christian charity between the seculars and regulars, none of his diocese, clergy or laymen, should

* Annals of King Charles the First, p. 372.

† Grainger's Biogr. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 147.

purchase, keep, or read any copy of the said work under pain of excommunication," while these and other imputations of Harris were immediately afterwards denounced by the Pope's Nuncio from Brussels. The refractory clerk, however, regardless of ecclesiastical censures or control, continued to publish his invectives, and even established a seminary in Dublin, contrary to authority; in consequence of which he necessitated another public censure from this prelate, a prohibition against any hearing his masses, and an order from Rome to remove him from the diocese. On this treatment, as might be expected from the stiff-neckedness of human nature, he wrote and published more exasperated tracts against this archbishop and the regular clergy, in one of which he charges Doctor Fleming with being himself "excommunicated by name and denounced, and the same by a papal excommunication legally and for most just causes published against him," and plainly accuses him not only of endeavouring to supplant the seculars and to fill their places with regulars, but also of usurping a power never before exercised of banishing some of his clergy from his diocese. On this latter ground, he subsequently arraigned his ordinary before the Lord Deputy, who gladly availed himself of the opportunity to rebuke the prelate. Harris also charged the whole body of the regulars with holding and promulgating tenets subversive of the seculars, and derogatory to their character as a priesthood; but these allegations were most satisfactorily denied. As Harris, however, persevered in his libellous asper-

sions, Cardinal Barberini, Prefect of the Propaganda, felt compelled to interfere; and accordingly, by letter bearing date on the 1st of December, 1634, directed and authorized Doctor Thomas Dease, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, to banish him from the diocese of Dublin: the bishop, however, fearful of the civil power, declined to act, and the sturdy priest replied, "Certes, if the Bishop of Meath's warrant come in the name of King Charles, it will doubtless be obeyed, but, if it come in any other man's name, Paul Harris is resolved not to depart, nay, if all the friars, priests, bishops, cardinals, popes, and a general council shall command him to depart, he will not remove a foot out of the diocese of Dublin. No, no, with the good leave of the State, Paul Harris, now of the age of 63, hath set up his rest, and is resolved to say of Ireland, and in particular of this diocese of Dublin, here will he dwell, for that he hath made choice thereof, till such time as his better part be translated into a better habitation."* The remainder of this individual's life is involved in the obscurity which generally awaits such self-promoted, ephemeral importance.

In reference to the more general state of the Catholics in Ireland, it may be here mentioned, that, previous to the last mentioned transactions, the subsidies for the government having become burdensome to the Protestants, they represented to his Majesty, that in lieu thereof the statute of Elizabeth

* The Exile exiled, pp. 3, 11.

should be enforced, and that, by exacting the penalties of twelve pence on every Sunday against every recusant absent from church, a sufficient fund would be obtained for the support of the army. The king consented, and the fines were directed to be presented. In 1633, however, on the appointment of Lord Wentworth to the government, he objected to such a mode of assessment. "Not," said he, "but every good Englishman ought, as well in reason of State as in conscience, to desire the kingdom were well reduced to a conformity in religion;*" but, as he afterwards adds, "if it took that good effect for which it was intended, it would come to nothing, and so would prove a covering narrower than a man could wrap himself in."

The immediately ensuing years of Doctor Fleming's life appear to have been passed in the unobtruded exercise of his ecclesiastical duties, in the inculcation and promotion of which he is discovered in July, 1640, presiding at a provincial council, which was held at Tyrcrogher in the county of Kildare. Its canons, as yet extant, enforced the uniformity of discipline; the publication of bans on the occasion of marriages; the discreet concession of dispensations to the laity, or of faculties to the clergy; forbade the marrying of persons, inhabiting other parishes, without the consent of their parish priest or ordinary, and also prohibited the regular clergy from administering extreme unction, baptism, or solemnizing matrimony without the consent of the parish priest.

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* Strafford's State Letters, vol. i. p. 75.

At the close of this year, even the hopes of the Catholics were utterly annihilated "by the appointment of Sir John Borlase, an uncompromising bigot, and of Sir William Parsons, an implacable enemy to every thing Irish, to the pre-eminent office of Lords Justices of Ireland. The selection was in itself an overt declaration of war to extermination; and the justices unblushingly verified the fears of the people. They sedulously and successfully opposed any redress of grievances; and, as if to fill the cup of bitterness to overflowing, "a letter was at this time intercepted, giving an account that a covenanting army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of General Lesley, to extirpate the Roman Catholics of Ulster, and leave the Scots sole possessors of the province. It was confidently averred, that Sir John Clotworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed in the House of Commons of England, had declared there in a speech, that the conversion of the Papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other. Mr. Pym gave out that they would not leave a priest in Ireland; and Sir William Parsons to the like effect, out of a strange weakness or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses at a public entertainment in Dublin, that, within a twelvemonth, no Catholic should be seen in Ireland."*

Impelled by the more imminent dangers that menaced them, the Irish of Ulster rose in arms on the

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. i. p. 235.

memorable 23rd of October, 1641, soon after which the Roman Catholics of the Pale, threatened as they were with a community of destruction, and rendered the more apprehensive by the total denial of protection or confidence, were compelled, as in their own defence, to submit to, and ultimately coalesce with, the insurgents. "The decision of fortune, and the prerogative of victory, have stamped this unsuccessful effort with the name of rebellion; the malignity of party has blackened it into a conspiracy to massacre the Protestants, without distinction of sex or age, of birth or condition. The impartiality of history must urge, that, if allegiance and protection are mutual and reciprocal duties, if the maintenance of civil and religious liberty be obligatory on every individual of the State, if self-preservation be a fair motive for resistance, the struggle of the Irish in 1641, for existence and toleration, was a just and lawful exertion, warranted by the first law of nature and the original compact of society."* The author of the learned and talented work, from which this extract is taken, proceeds in a luminous and graphic style to illustrate the causes that led to this fomented civil war. It seems here, however, only necessary to adopt his conclusion, which cannot be better conveyed than in his own words: "Religious rancour has ascribed the insurrection to the intrigues and influence of the Roman Catholic clergy; Mr. Carte insinuates the charge, his pride of candour and want of proof con-

* O'Conor's Hist. of the Irish Catholics, p. 33.

fine him to inuendos and suspicions; the zeal of modern writers precipitates them into criminations and invectives against the bishops of this period, not warranted by a single fact, and disproved by most authentic documents; that foreign influence had no share in fomenting the insurrection, that the Catholic bishops were not privy to the schemes of the original promoters, that they were not admitted to their meetings, appears from Lord Maguire's Narrative, from Castlehaven's Memoirs, from the silence of Owen O'Conolly, the informer. The clergy continued passive sharers in the general desolation until March, 1642, when the shocking barbarities of Sir Charles Coote on those of their order, when the eagerness of the English parliament for the blood of the seven priests, when the violation of the laws of nations in dragging their fellow-missionaries from the sanctuary of the foreign ambassadors' palaces, and the avowed determination to extirpate their religion and flocks, left them no alternative but resistance or resignation to the exterminating sword."

Archbishop Fleming could not long remain inactive; and may, indeed, be supposed the most incessantly provoked of all the sufferers, as the focus of intolerance and the artillery of destruction were within the heart of his diocese. At the close of December, 1641, he received the intelligence of the king's speech, wherein Charles enjoined his parliament, "by all that was or could be dear to them or him, that, laying aside all disputes, they should go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland." By pro-

clamation of the 1st of January following, the same monarch denounced these detestable traitors, who had robbed, despoiled, massacred, and imprisoned "his good subjects of the British nation and Protestants in Ireland;" and required his lord deputy and his lieutenant-general there, "to prosecute the said rebels and traitors with fire and sword, as persons unworthy of any mercy or favour." In a few days afterwards, the Common Council of London petitioned the crown, to relieve the Protestants of Ireland "from the progress of the bloody rebellion, fomented and acted by the Papists and their adherents," a prayer to which his Majesty cordially responded, while he further assured both houses of parliament, that a proclamation should issue, requiring all Romish priests to quit the kingdom; and pledged himself "in the word of a king, that if any should be apprehended after that time, he would grant no pardon to any such without consent of his parliament;" even adding, that "he would not refuse to venture his own person in the war in Ireland, if his parliament should think it convenient for the reduction of that miserable kingdom." Immediately afterwards the Lords and Commons of England voted the confiscation of two millions and a half of profitable lands, to be equally taken out of the rebels possessions in the four provinces of Ireland, and distributed to those who should aid in their reduction, his Majesty fully consenting thereto. This succession of denunciations might have justified Archbishop Fleming, in taking an earlier position in the troubled politics of the time; but he felt that was an arena,

which a divine should avoid, as long as there was a neutral spot on which his foot could rest; nor was it until the memorable parliamentary declaration of March, 1641, effectually excluded even the smallest tendency of royal mercy to his community, that this archbishop selected the Reverend Joseph Everard, to appear as his proxy at the synod of the Roman Catholic clergy, which met at Kilkenny in May, 1642.

The acts of this remarkable assembly are given at full by Borlase, in his History of the Irish Insurrection, and may be thus briefly but fairly stated. All its members agreed in declaring the war in Ireland to be against sectaries, and chiefly puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion, the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of the king and queen, the safety of the royal issue, the conservation of the liberties and rights of Ireland, and the defence of their own lives and properties, and therefore, on such information of its objects, declared it to be just and lawful; adding, however, that, "if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions, they are declared therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and restrained with ecclesiastical censures, if, advised thereof, they do not amend." The members further deprecated any credence being given to letters or proclamations published in the king's name, "until it be known, in a national council by its agents, whether they truly proceed from the king, left to

his own freedom." They directed that "all Irish peers, magistrates, and noblemen," should be united by an oath of association, and denounced sentence of excommunication against all, who should forsake the union or assist the enemy, or who should, "from the beginning of the present war, invade the possessions of any Catholic or any Irish Protestant, not adversary to this cause, or detain any such possessions." They forbade all distinctions and differences "between provinces, cities, towns, or families;" directed that in every province a council of clergy and laity should be constituted, and defined its constitution as also that of the general council; arranged the mode of "embassage to foreign nations;" ordered that an exact inventory should be kept in every province, of "the murders, burnings, and other cruelties committed by the Puritan enemies, with a quotation of place, day, cause, manner, and persons, and other circumstances subscribed by one of public authority," and that "faithful and sworn messengers should be appointed in every parish" to report same; prescribed "that the ordinaries of every place, the preachers, confessors, parish priests, and other churchmen, should endeavour to see perfect peace and charity observed between provinces, counties, cities, and families, as the obligation of this union requireth;" that goods recovered from the enemy should be restored to their rightful owners; that "all those who murder, dismember, or grievously strike, and all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favour, receive, or any ways assist them,

be excommunicated, and so remain" until amendment and satisfaction. They also recommended that ambassadors should be sent to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Emperor and the Pope, "and those to be of the Church prelates, or one of the nobility, and a lawyer." This interesting document is signed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy as follows:

Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh.
Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel.
Malachy, Archbishop of Tuam.
David, Bishop of Ossory.
Boetius, Bishop of Elphin.
Patrick, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
Roche, Bishop of Kildare.
John, Bishop of Clonfert.
Emer, Bishop of Down and Connor.

Joseph Everard, Proxy of the Archbishop of Dublin.
Doctor John Creagh, Proxy of the Bishop of Limerick.
David Bourke and William O'Connell, Proxies of the Bishop of Emly.
Donat O'Tiernan, Proxy of the Bishop of Killaloe.
Doctor Denis Harty, Dean of Killaloe.
Doctor Michael Hacket, Vicar-General of Waterford.
William Devereux, Vicar-General of Ferns.
Thomas Roche, Vicar-General of Ossory.
Luke Archer, Abbot of Holy Cross.
Anthony de Rosario, Vicar-General of the Dominicans.
Robert Nugent, of the order of the Jesuits.
Thadey Connold, Provincial for England.
John Waring, Dean of Limerick.
Patrick D'Arcy, Warden of Dublin.
Thomas Strange, Warden of Waterford.
Joseph Langton, Prior of Kilkenny.
Thomas Tiernan, Warden of Dundalk.
John Reilly, Warden of Kilkenny.
Boetius Egnan, Warden of Buttevant.
John Bourke, Archdeacon of Limerick.

On the conclusion of the synod the nobility and gentry, then resident in Kilkenny, united with the aforesaid clergy in framing an oath of association, and naming the members for the supreme council, which was formed on the model of a parliament of two houses; the upper composed of spiritual and temporal peers, the lower of two delegates sent by the counties and cities of Ireland. They had a president, (Lord Mountgarret,) a speaker, a preacher, a guard of honour, a mint, a press, &c.; yet, with all this assumption of power and authority, the confederates anxiously laboured, if possible, to effectuate a cessation of arms. On the 19th of May they proposed it, again in the month of July, and a third time, before their general convention, in October, (1642,) leaving certainly no doubt of their then having an anxious desire to terminate the horrors of a war, that had so desolated the country and destroyed thousands of both parties; but all expectations of peace and amnesty were banished, by a solemn declaration of the parliament sitting in Dublin, wherein, after reciting "that the religion now professed by the Church of Rome, which in fundamental points is anti-christian, hath of late years extraordinarily overspread this kingdom," and that great dishonour was "plotted and enacted by titular bishops, abbots, jesuits," &c., both houses agreed in petitioning his Majesty, that "the laws and statutes of force in this kingdom against recusants and all others of the Popish pretended religion, in all parts of this kingdom where the laws do or may run, and for suppressing

the usurped power and jurisdiction of the see of Rome, and particularly in the city of Dublin, which is now the city of refuge for most of the distressed and despoiled Protestants of this kingdom," might be effectively put in execution; and that such other laws and provisions should be passed, as might give hopeful and comfortable assurance to the suppliants and their posterity, and to all others of the Protestant religion, who are or shall be in this kingdom."* Nor was the intention of the governing party in England less manifested in a proclamation, purporting to emanate from the king then holding his court at York, wherein it was avowed that the laws against Popish recusants should be put in due execution; that no Papists should be countenanced in any employment or trust, and that no Popish recusant, refusing to take the oaths of allegiance, &c. should be permitted to serve in the army, &c.

In such a crisis of affairs, Doctor Fleming felt himself obliged to participate in person in the operations of the confederates at Kilkenny, and thereupon appointed the celebrated Doctor Edmund Reilly, to fill the station of vicar-general in his diocese during his absence. This object of his selection had been a parish priest within that district, subsequently sojourned at Louvain, studying divinity with the jesuits, and the canon law under the jurists; and, on his return, having a strong recommendation from Father Thomas Fleming, eldest son of the Lord Slane, who had

* Carte's Ormonde, vol. i. p. 331.

exchanged his barony for a cloister, received the appointment alluded to, but which he had neither prudence nor ability to sustain. The acts of this period of his life were all of a violent political tendency; distrusting the sincerity of Ormonde, he joined in every uproar against cessation of hostilities and every religious cry against peace with the king.

Very different was the conduct of his metropolitan, who sat in the supreme council as one of the members for Leinster. On the 20th of June, 1643, Archbishop Fleming and the Archbishop of Tuam were the only two prelates, who signed the commission, authorizing Nicholas Viscount Gormanston, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and others, to treat with the Marquis of Ormonde for the cessation of arms. In the ensuing month the arrival of Father Scarampa, as minister from the Pope, with supplies of money and ammunition, interposed and asserted that foreign influence, which ultimately defeated all the measures of the confederates. Nevertheless, in the following October, Doctor Fleming, with two other bishops and six laymen, signed a letter to the lords justices, ratifying and confirming the articles of cessation concluded by the commissioners, "hoping, in the quiet of that time assigned for it, by the benefit of the access which his Majesty is graciously pleased to afford us, to free ourselves from those odious calumnies wherewith we have been branded, and to render ourselves worthy of favour by some acceptable service, suiting the expression we have often made, and the real affections and zeal we have to serve his Majesty;"

but, complaining bitterly at the same time of the infractions of the cessation committed by the Scots, "who not long since came over in great numbers into this kingdom, and, by the slaughter of many innocents, without distinction of age or sex, have possessed themselves of very large territories in the North." In July, 1644, he was present at the general assembly at Kilkenny, when the oath of association was agreed upon, whereby every confederate swore to bear true faith and allegiance to the king and his heirs, to maintain his and their prerogatives, the power and privileges of the parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion, and to obey the orders and decrees of the supreme council.

The before mentioned Father Scarampa remained, in the discharge of his commission at Kilkenny, until November, 1645, when John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland, in the character of Apostolic Nuncio extraordinary, and, on the 12th of that month, presented himself with his credentials to the confederates there, announcing the object of his mission, while he protested against the inference that he came to excite the Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom against their king, and signified "that nothing more agreeable to the supreme Pontiff could take place, than that the confederates in Ireland, having recovered the free exercise of their religion, should observe due subjection, service, and reverence to his Serene Majesty, though not a Catholic." The conduct of the emissary was, however,

fatally at variance with this fair and moderate representation of his commission, and, on the first vital discussion, his headstrong, intemperate, and unauthorized policy led to the ruin of the cause he espoused. "The cessation of arms, which had been concluded between Ormonde and the supreme council, was received with general joy by the confederate nobility and the greatest and best part of the clergy: but the nuncio and General Owen O'Neill, who afterwards drew over General Preston to his views, rejected it; the former, because there was no provision made for the free exercise of the Catholic religion, without which the confederates, in the nuncio's view of the case, were engaged by their oath of association never to conclude a peace; and the latter, on the same account, and also because no stipulation was made for restoring him and his numerous followers to their forfeited lands in Ulster. The nuncio further alleged, that the commissioners, who had concluded the peace, had not, as they were bound by their instructions, insisted on the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholic religion. The confederates, however, adhered to the cessation, and, with the leave of Ormonde, sent over seven persons of rank to his Majesty to treat with him for a permanent peace. They reached his Majesty on the 23rd of March, 1645, and the king agreed to all the terms proposed by them, except those by which they claimed the free exercise of their religion, and the quiet enjoyment of the ecclesiastical property then actually possessed by them. The concession of these would,

his Majesty observed, irritate all the Protestants in the three kingdoms against him. He therefore ordered the commissioners to return to the council and treat with Ormonde on this point. Soon afterwards the Earl of Glamorgan, a Roman Catholic and connected by his marriage with the house of O'Brien, attended at Kilkenny, accredited, as he said, by his Majesty to treat with the supreme council. On the 25th of August, 1645, articles of peace were signed by the earl and the supreme council, containing an express stipulation that the Catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and retain all the churches then in their possession and the property belonging to them. It was intended that this treaty should be kept a secret, till a more favourable combination of circumstances would remove the objection to its publication; but accident brought it to light, and the monarch then disavowed the powers under which Glamorgan had professed to act. A new treaty was therefore entered into with Ormonde. It was signed on the 28th of March, 1646, but appears not to have been delivered till the 29th of the following June. (See *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, vol. i. p. 574.) It contained no stipulation for the free exercise of the Catholic religion, or the enjoyment of ecclesiastical property; these were to be the subject of a future arrangement, and to be allowed in the mean time by connivance. The Pope himself felt the necessity, which induced the supreme council to submit to such terms. Discoursing with Mr. Richard Bellings, on what had passed between his Majesty and the depu-

ties to him from the council, his Holiness observed, that it was not to be wondered at that his Majesty should think it unsafe to consent to the insertion of the contested article, as this would alienate from him so many of his adherents."*

The nuncio was nevertheless unchangeable, and, in the full indulgence of his feelings, he assembled at Waterford "such of the Irish bishops and other ecclesiastics as were most under his influence, on pretence of forming a synod to settle ecclesiastical matters; but with more earnest they took the peace into consideration, and, by a public instrument signed by them on the 12th of August, 1646, declared their dissent therefrom."† The second signature to this document is that of Archbishop Fleming; but he is said to have declared, that he subscribed it against his own opinion, and solely in compliance with the earnest wishes of the nuncio ;‡ and in truth in three days afterwards, as if desirous to qualify his intention in that protest, he, conjointly with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Elphin, wrote, in the name of the congregation of the clergy, a letter to the queen, in which they said they disliked the peace, because all things were thereby referred to the pleasure of the king; "to which," add they, "we would readily submit, if he were not environed on all sides with the enemies of our religion, and at

* Butler's Historical Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. ii. p. 453, &c.

† Butler's Hist. Mem. of the Catholics, vol. ii. p. 456.

‡ O'Conor's Hist. Addr. Part 1, p. 146.

such a distance from your Majesty." He was then in the hands of the Scots, a circumstance which might well justify the alteration in Doctor Fleming's policy. The nuncio, after this meeting in Waterford, joined Preston and O'Neill, proceeded to Kilkenny; imprisoned the leaders of the council; appointed in its place another body, of which himself was to be president; assumed the government of the kingdom; excommunicated all who were instrumental in concluding the peace, and all who should afterwards adhere to, or promote it; by all which acts he effected more towards the ruin of the cause he espoused, than the machinations of its bitterest enemies could accomplish. His wayward conduct divided the confederates into two parties, who by quick degrees became more exasperated against each other, than they were against the common enemy. "I loved the nuncio," says Lynch, (Archdeacon of Tuam, and the learned author of *Cambrensis Eversus*,) "and revere his memory, but it is most certain, that the first cause of our woe and the beginning of our ruin were produced by his censures. The day, on which they were fulminated, should not be in benediction; to the Irish it was most disastrous, and should therefore be noticed with black, ranked among the inauspicious days, and devoted to the furies."

At the close of October, in the same year, (1646,) Rinuccini, in company with Preston and O'Neill, and an army of 16,000 foot, and 1600 horse, advanced to Dublin; and, on the 2nd of November, sent his proposals of accommodation to the Marquis of Or-

monde; but his Excellency now firmly refused to agree to them. The Marquis, however, and the council, being doubtful how the Catholics of Dublin might behave in case the city was assaulted by such an army, fighting under a title of so specious a cause and under the authority of so extraordinary a minister of the holy see, put two questions to those of the Catholic clergy who resided in that city. 1st, whether, if the nuncio should proceed to excommunicate the adherents to the peace then lately made, the excommunication would be void; and 2nd, whether, if the city should be besieged by the direction of the nuncio, the Catholics might lawfully resist the siege or assault. The clergy so applied to answered unanimously, that the excommunication would be void and the resistance lawful.* His Excellency afterwards entered into a negotiation with general Preston, but mutual distrust prevented its execution on either side; upon this the Marquis, with more success as probably more seriousness, treated with the covenanters; the terms were concluded, and Ormonde soon afterwards gave up to their commissioners all the forces under his command, the sword of state and the other insignia of government; for which services he received, from the usurping powers, a large sum of money and permission to hold his estates discharged from all debts upon them. "Mr. Carte," says Mr. Matthew O'Conor,† "endeavours to palliate this

* Curry's Hist. Review, B. vii. c. 12.

† Hist. of the Irish Catholics, p. 62.

treachery, by zeal for the Protestant religion and the English interest; the plain meaning of which is, that Ormonde preferred the subjugation of Ireland by republican and regicide Protestants, to the dominion of its lawful sovereign connected with the toleration of the Catholic religion." About the end of July, 1647, by order of the parliament, he departed from Ireland, immediately after which General Preston was totally defeated, at Dungan's Hill near Trim, by Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin, and the flower of the Munster confederates was slaughtered at Knocknaness.

Although these calamities made their full impression on the more temperate of the Catholics, and urged them yet the more to seek peace for their bleeding country, the nuncio continued outrageous and obstinate in opposing such a measure; and, on this occasion, he certainly had the full support of Archbishop Fleming, in whose estimation a peace with the parliamentary leader differed very essentially from that, which he would have formerly sanctioned with Ormonde; his signature, accordingly, appears amongst those of the ten Roman Catholic prelates, who, on the 27th of April, 1648, signed a protest against the cessation then meditated with Jones, and, on the 2nd of May, five of these ecclesiastics, conjointly with the Bishops of Dromore and Clonfert, signed another act delegating their power to the Nuncio, Archbishop Fleming, and the Bishops of Clogher, Killalla, and Limerick, to do in their absence what themselves might do in matters of religion,

particularly in regard of the declaration against the cessation, authorizing them to confirm that instrument by ecclesiastical censures, ratifying all that they should do, and empowering the nuncio to substitute such persons as he pleased in place of those that might be absent.* About the same time, Edmund Reilly, before mentioned, was removed by Archbishop Fleming from the vicar-generalship of this diocese, and the Rev. Laurence Archbold was appointed thereto.† Soon afterwards the Earl of Inchiquin, who, till that time, had been an active partisan of the parliament, being dissatisfied with its proceedings, began to treat with the confederates. The nuncio, as usual, opposed the treaty, but it proceeded, and an agreement for a cessation of arms and mutual assistance was ultimately signed. Rinuccini, thereupon, caused the declaration of the clergy against the old cessation to be affixed to the doors of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, but it was immediately pulled down. At this crisis the nuncio summoned Archbishop Fleming and the prelates of Killala and Limerick to attend him; they, however, not only declined coming, and recommended pacific measures, but they further urged, that, Lord Inchiquin having granted more advantageous terms in the cessation then under consideration, than had been at first suggested or were expected when the original declaration was framed, therefore that declaration should not be intended as hostile to the convention now made, but to one formerly represent-

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 33.

† Walsh's Remonstrance, p. 608.

ed by the nuncio, as about to be concluded on terms most disadvantageous to their religion. Failing to obtain the concurrence of this prelate and of the aforesaid bishops, the nuncio substituted other co-operation, according to the power injudiciously conferred upon him, and pronounced an excommunication against all, who adhered to, or favoured the cessation with Inchiquin, interdicting even the performance of divine offices in all cities, towns, or places, that received the treaty. In ten days afterwards the supreme council appealed in form against his censures, "and were supported in that appeal by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses; by the whole orders of the Jesuits and Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, above five hundred of the Franciscan order alone, and by the most regular, strict, exemplary, and learned religious of these orders, who, by their number, zeal, learning, industry, and pains-taking in preaching and otherwise, quite defeated the nuncio's measures and worsted his party."* Archbishop Fleming, with a singular vaccillation of character, or awe of the nuncio, did not enrol himself amongst these honest remonstrants. On the contrary, De Burgo† preserves a letter, which he wrote "from his bed in the convent of St. Francis, Dublin," to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, in which he exhorts and, to the extent of his metropolitan authority, commands him to

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Hib. Dominicana, p. 897.

enforce Rinuccini's interdict, within the cities and towns of his diocese.

Although the general history of Ireland at this period, unless in necessary connexion with the life of Archbishop Fleming, is not a legitimate subject for these pages, yet a few concluding remarks seem necessary for the exposition of Rinuccini's calamitous career. Ormonde, from the time of his departure from Dublin until September, 1648, had remained in France. On the 21st of that month he sailed for Ireland from Havre, and on the 29th reached Cork. "He was received with great demonstrations of joy, and soon after his landing, being then interested in the re-establishment of the royal authority, he signified to the supreme council sitting at Kilkenny, that he was arrived with full powers to conclude a peace with the confederate Catholics, pursuant to the paper delivered to their agent at St. Germain's, and which granted them their own terms. On the receipt of the message the supreme council invited the Marquis to Kilkenny, into which city he made his entry with great splendour. On the 17th of January, 1648, a peace between his Majesty and the confederates was proclaimed, and the English and Irish forces were placed under the command of the Marquis. By the terms of the peace it was stipulated, that all the laws, which prevented the free exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland, should be repealed, and that the Catholics should not be disturbed in the possession of their churches and church livings, till his Majesty, upon a full consideration of the decree respecting

them in parliament, should declare his further pleasure. On the following day the assembly drew up several articles to be transmitted to the Pope, containing heavy accusations against the nuncio, and intimated to his Holiness at the same time, the necessity of his immediately repairing to Rome to answer those articles."* Accordingly, on the ensuing 23rd of February, this emissary bade farewell to a country, which his intemperance had covered with widows and orphans—ruin and rancour. "It should be observed," writes Mr. Charles Butler, "that his proceedings were contrary to the instructions, which he had received from the court of Rome. By these he had been directed, in case a peace were made, to do nothing to indicate that he either approved or disliked it. Doctor Curry produces reasons which render it probable, that the peace made by the confederates with Ormonde was not displeasing to the Pope, and Mr. Carte mentions, that soon after his infraction of the peace the nuncio received a reprimand from Rome, for having acted in this respect contrary to his instructions. On his return to that city he was received coldly by the Pope. His Holiness told him he had carried himself rashly in Ireland,† and exiled him to his diocese, where, by reason of the disastrous result of his nunciature, and the reception which he so met with at Rome, he was so deeply affected, that in a short time afterwards he

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. ii. p. 459.

† Borlase's History of the Rebellion, f. 246.

died of grief."* De Burgo, however, in his uncompromising affection and reverence for Rinuccini, will not admit these reproaches to his memory; but says he died in December, 1653, and was buried in the cathedral of Fermo.

During the greater part of the year 1649 Archbishop Fleming resided in his own diocese.† His better judgment and prudence were no longer overruled by the nuncio's presence, and therefore, when the congregation of the prelates of Ireland was held at Clonmacnoise on the 4th of December, 1649, Archbishop Fleming was one of those who signed the declaration there made, of oblivion of all former differences, and of brotherly affection and union for the future; while, at the same time, in perfect consistence with his opposition to the peace with Jones, he was of those who subscribed the decree, that a manifesto should issue from them, "letting the people know how vain it is to expect from the common enemy commanded by Cromwell, by authority from the rebels of England, any assurance of their religion, lives, or fortunes;" and enjoining amity, "as the chief means to preserve the nation, against the extirpation and destruction of their religion and fortunes resolved on by the enemy, and manifesting their detestation against all divisions between either provinces or families, or between old English or old Irish, or any of the English or Scotch adhering to

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. ii. p. 460.

† De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 489.

his Majesty;" with other resolutions of a similar tendency, as given in full in the *Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ*, (p. 270, &c.)

The execution of King Charles opened vistas of yet more gloomy days, nor was the disheartening prospect brightened, when, "on the invitation of the Scottish covenanters, Charles the Second left Breda, and on the 23rd of June, 1650, arrived in Scotland. Before he landed he was obliged to sign both the national and the solemn covenant, and in two months afterwards he issued a declaration, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant, that he did detest and abhor all Popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy, resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power. He pronounced the peace with the confederates to be null and void, and added, that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it. The afflicting intelligence of this conduct of his Majesty soon reached the confederates, and they suspected, not without ground, that the Marquis of Ormonde had advised it."* In consequence of these occurrences, an episcopal meeting was fixed to be held in August at Jamestown, previous to which, on the 24th of July, Doctor Fleming and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam gave intimation thereof to the Marquis of Ormonde by letter, and stated, that, "if his Excellency would

* Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics, vol. ii. p. 461.

think fit to send one or more persons to make proposals for the safety of the whole nation, they should not want willingness to prepare a good answer."* To this invitation the marquis paid no attention, and, on the 12th of August, 1650, the prelates assembled as appointed, drew up an excommunication against all his adherents, and, on the 23rd of the same month, signed the memorable declaration, grounded on the alleged breach of faith of the marquis, during his government subsequent to the peace of 1648, and yet more on the king's disavowal of the peace, published in Scotland, and his declaration, whereby he "acknowledged his sorrow for making peace with the Papists, and recalled all the commissions granted by him in Ireland. The reader, who may be interested in the inquiry, will find in Walsh's Remonstrance much of the history of this subject; here it must suffice to say, that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, the celebrated Nicholas French, signed both the excommunication and the declaration, as proxy for Archbishop Fleming, although, as Lord Clarendon observes in his "History of the Rebellion," "All the sober professors of the Catholic religion abhorred those proceedings, as also those which subsequently took place at Loughrea, and most of the commissioners of trust or the principal nobility remained firm in their particular affection and duty to the king, and in their submission to the authority of his lieutenant."

On the 5th of October, 1650, this prelate, in per-

* O'Conor's Hist. Addr. Part 2, p. 386.

son at Galway, signed the document authorizing Dr. Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, and Hugh Rochfort, Esq., to treat and agree with any Catholic prince, state, republic, or person, as they might deem expedient for the preservation of the Catholic religion and nation, and promising to ratify the same as far as in him and his colleagues lay; but, on the 15th of November following, the Catholic clergy, having met at Loughrea by the appointment of the Marquis of Ormonde, declared and protested of their own accord, "that by their aforesaid excommunication and declaration at Jamestown, they had no other aim but the preservation of their religion and people; and that they did not purpose making any encroachment upon his Majesty's authority or the liberty of their fellow-subjects; confessing that it did not belong to their jurisdiction so to do." The imbecility, treachery, or apathy of Ormonde, however, precipitated the catastrophe of his country's sufferings; Cromwell and confiscation succeeded, and all the well known persecutions of the period.

In 1652, the English parliament passed an act "for the settlement of Ireland," in which all Jesuits, priests, &c., and a number of noblemen and gentry, therein enumerated, were excepted from pardon for life or estate, while all persons of the Popish religion, who had resided in Ireland since 1641, and not manifested their constant affection to the commonwealth, were subjected to the forfeiture of their estates to the commonwealth, two-thirds of the quantity thereof to be assigned to them in such other part of Ireland

as should seem fit to the parliament. The proscription was most cordially responded to by the Irish executive. The parliamentary commissioners at Dublin further published a proclamation, wherein the act of the 27th of Elizabeth was made of force in Ireland, and ordered to be most strictly put in execution. By this act, "every Romish priest discovered in the country was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was dead; then to have his head taken off and his body cut in quarters, his bowels to be drawn out and burned, and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place." The punishment of those who entertained a priest was, by the same act, confiscation of their goods and chattels and the ignominious death of the gallows. This edict was thereupon renewed, with the additional cruelty of making even the private exercise of the Roman catholic religion a capital crime; and again repeated in 1657, with the same penalty of confiscation and death to all those who, knowing where a priest was, did not make discovery thereof to the government. Of the strict execution of these barbarous edicts many shocking examples were daily seen among these unhappy people, insomuch that, to use the words of a contemporary writer and eye witness; "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh; nor the innocent infants by Herod; nor the Christians by Nero or any of the other Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at that fatal juncture, by these savage commissioners."*

* Morrison's Thren. p. 14.

A Latin manuscript of the year 1653, entitled, "Afflictio Catholicorum Hiberniæ," and yet preserved in the Irish convent of St. Isidore at Rome, thus describes the terrors of the visitation in Ireland. "The keen eyed vigilance of persecution has driven the Catholic laity into the country; and the priests and monks scarcely presume to sleep even in the houses of their own people; their life is warfare and earthly martyrdom; they breathe as by stealth among the hills or in the woods, and not unfrequently in the abyss of bogs or marshes which their oppressors cannot penetrate; yet hither flock congregations of poor Catholics, whom they refresh with the consolation of the sacraments, direct with the best advice, instruct in constancy of faith, and confirm in the endurance of the cross of the Lord. These things however, could not be effected without the knowledge of the heretics, who, in a simultaneous impulse, are hurried through the mountains and the woods, exploring the retreats of the clergy; and never was the chase of wild beasts more hot and bitter, than the rush of the priest-destroyers through the woods of Ireland, many of whom deem it the most grateful recreation to run down to the death those beasts of the woods, as they term the Catholic clergy."

In the midst of these persecutions Archbishop Fleming sunk into the grave, but the evil destiny of his country was not to be appeased by such immolations. The annals of Ireland and of the civil wars, unjustly styled "rebellions," that desolated it from the days of Archbishop Fleming to those of Dean

Swift, too sadly evince the truth of this position, and the remarks of that great genius and patriot, the latter dignitary, afford the best exordium to this memoir. "These insurrections," he remarks, "wherewith the Irish Catholics are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under; they had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of pursuing the old, the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that Christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by Catholics, but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, or betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all Christian nations, and of apostolic institution, concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood; and, upon mature deliberation, at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth. The Catholics of Ireland in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king; the schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the Catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution,

many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the Catholics lost by their loyalty."

Great as were the difficulties in upholding the hierarchy of the Established Church in Ireland, it was almost utterly impossible that the Roman Catholic could be represented. At the close of the year 1660 there were but three prelates of that faith in Ireland: those of Armagh, Meath, and Kilmore, while this see and province were under the jurisdiction and control of James Dempsey, Vicar Apostolic and Capitulary of Kildare. Very soon after his appointment to this dignity, and at the earliest attainable opportunity after the Restoration, he was one of those who signed the document of the 1st of January, 1660, empowering the celebrated Father Walsh, on behalf of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, to attend his Majesty in their names, to congratulate him on his restoration, and to solicit the free exercise of their religion and the graces promised and confirmed to them in 1648 by the Marquis of Ormonde. In the same capacity, Doctor Dempsey was one of the forty-five of the chief Catholic clergy, who, in 1663, promulgated the declaration of the faculty of Sorbon and other universities, to the effect, that it was not the Roman Catholic doctrine, that the Pope had any authority in temporal affairs over King Charles, and that they would oppose any who should assert such power.* Such is the more

* Walsh's Remonstrance, p. 694.

favourable construction which the celebrated Father Walsh would fain put upon an instrument of his own concocting; and in which, as well as in the character drawn of those who opposed this declaration, the author of the Life of William the Third, as might be expected, fully agrees.

"At this time," writes Harris, "the Roman Catholics of Ireland were divided into violent parties, distinguished by the name of Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants; the former were such of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, who had signed a remonstrance or profession of their allegiance to the King, and a resolution to obey him as their only chief governor in temporal matters; the anti-remonstrants were those who held, that to give a recognition of their loyalty to their Sovereign, though in temporals only, was to withdraw something of their spiritual allegiance from the Pope; in which principle they were upheld by the court of Rome; and the Irish titular bishops had express orders from Cardinal Barberini to support the Anti-Remonstrants, even at the hazard of their mitres and lives. They had their rise here in the time of the nuncio, to whom and to Owen O'Neill they strictly adhered, and obstructed not only the peace made in 1646 by the Marquis of Ormonde with the confederate Catholics, but that of 1648, and thereby kept their country in confusion. After the Restoration the loyal Irish drew up a formulary of their allegiance to the Crown in express and explicit terms, and empowered Peter Walsh, a loyal and active Franciscan friar, to solicit subscriptions to it, which he procured

in some numbers; but his endeavours, being opposed by the Anti-Remonstrants and rigid Papists, were greatly clogged, and he obtained the consent, or at least the connivance, of the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant, for calling a national synod of the Popish clergy at Dublin, in order to debate the matter and to come to some satisfactory conclusion. They assembled in June, 1666, but the ministers of the Pope interfered to prevent any accommodation, and the synod broke up in confusion."*

Mr. Harris's statement is however greatly overcharged with the colouring of his own prejudices. The remonstrance in truth, as it then stood, contained expressions offensive to the court of Rome, and repugnant at least to Catholic discipline, and it was therefore rejected at the synod, but not on the principles misstated by Harris, nor was the assembly influenced by the Pope against any legitimate declaration of allegiance, nor did it break up in confusion. "The remonstrance was rejected as exceptionable in its language, and another substituted in its place, equivalent to the former in every assurance of loyalty, and equally explicit in the constitutional fulness of civil principles, to which were added the following propositions: '1. We do hereby declare that it is not our doctrine, that the Pope hath any authority in temporal affairs over our sovereign lord King Charles the Second; yea, we promise we shall oppose them that will assert any power, either direct or indirect,

* Harris's Life of William the Third, p. 99.

over him in civil or temporal affairs. 2. That it is our doctrine, that our gracious King Charles the Second is so absolute and independent, that he acknowledgeth not, nor hath he in civil and temporal affairs any power above him under God, and this to be our constant doctrine, from which we shall never decline. 3. That it is our doctrine, that we subjects owe such natural and just obedience unto our King, that no power under any pretext whatever can either dispense with or free us thereof.' A protestation of loyalty, with the aforesaid propositions subjoined, signed by every member of the congregation, was delivered to Ormonde by two bishops, delegates from the synod, to be presented to his Majesty; but this nobleman would receive no other remonstrance, than that contrived for his own purposes and advocated by his creature Walsh; he consequently ordered the synod to disperse, and continued during the remainder of his administration an unrelenting persecutor of the clergy."*

In reference to Doctor Dempsey's administration of this province, it remains but to notice, that he held a synod in May, 1665, at Dublin, the principal canon of which provided for the publication of bans three times before the celebration of any marriages.

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* O'Conor's Hist. of the Irish Catholics, p. 101.

PETER TALBOT.

[Succ. 1669. Ob. 1680.]

In 1669, Peter Talbot was at length promoted to the ecclesiastical superintendence of this province. He was the son of Sir William Talbot, and brother of the celebrated Colonel Talbot, whom James the Second created Earl of Tyrconnell, advanced to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and subsequently yet more ennobled with a Dukedom. The subject of this memoir was born about the year 1620; early in life he was received into the society of Jesuits in Portugal, and, after studying philosophy and divinity amongst them, was admitted into holy orders at Rome; from that city he returned to Portugal and afterwards removed to Antwerp, where he read lectures on moral theology and published "A Treatise of the Nature of Faith and Heresy;" "A Catechism for Politicians, instructing them in Divine Faith and Moral Honesty;" "The Nullity of the Protestant Church and its Clergy," &c. At this period of his life, he is supposed to have been the person, who in 1656 reconciled Charles the Second, then at Cologne, to the Catholic religion, and that prince is reported to have sent him secretly to Madrid, to intimate to the court of Spain his conversion. He incurred, however, the displeasure of that monarch, by having, according to report, attended the funeral of Cromwell as one of the mourners, and joined Lambert in opposing General Monk's declaration.

The circumstance does not seem verified by any bettter evidence than that of a scandalous pamphlet before alluded to, wherein it is said, "several of his Majesty's subjects being in London upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, the usurper, who were more desirous to see his funeral solemnities, than to see him officiate in his tyrannical government, obtained leave to be at a friend's house at Westminster, to behold the celebration thereof. John King, then Dean of Tuam, a faithful subject of his Majesty, shewed to several of the spectators, saying, there goes Peter Talbot amongst the mourners in deep mourning, which had not these spectators seen, they would scarcely have believed that it had been he. At that time, it being the fashion for mourners not to cast off their mourning cloaks so soon as they do now-a-days, he was seen by several to walk in the same habit, with his cloak folded under his arm, for some months after this funeral, walking in the piazza of Covent Garden, and other of the streets of the city of London. Upon General Monk's rising in England to bring in our now gracious sovereign King Charles the Second into his throne, this said Peter Talbot went, in company with the then General Lambert, riding to oppose the Duke of Albemarle's designs; for those, his good feats, the Pope made him titular Archbishop of Dublin."* Without conceding the more censorious portion of this notice, it certainly is rendered more than probable

* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 96.

by some memorials of the period, that Talbot had been sent into England by the Pope, on the affairs of the Church during the commonwealth, and that he then became acquainted with most of the people in power, and was even intimate with Cromwell himself, while it is yet more certain, that on the Restoration he fled the country, and never returned, until, upon the king's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, he was appointed one of her chaplains, and, his vows as a Jesuit having been subsequently dispensed with, he was advanced to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1669, having been consecrated at Antwerp or Ghent on the second of May in that year.

In the same year he landed at Skerries, as mentioned at that locality in the "History of the County of Dublin;" filled as it would appear, with the most confident hope of another restoration, yet dearer to his heart, that of the freedom, rank, and reverence of the Roman Catholic religion, an object which Harris says, "he was always forming designs and contriving schemes for advancing."* As far as those designs and schemes, if they are to be called such, could be advanced honourably, peaceably, and legitimately, the prelate certainly laboured for their consummation; but how greatly he has been misrepresented as "a man of aspiring and restless spirit," and "a participator of political intrigues," will best appear from his works.

On his arrival in the metropolis, he found an

* Ware's Writers, p. 192.

assembly of the Catholic clergy there, sitting under the control of the primate; Talbot immediately introduced himself amongst them, announcing that the king had appointed him to oversee them all, "whereupon the titular primate, Plunket, considering this an unwarranted assumption, desired to see the authority on which it was advanced, alleging, that if there was in fact such an authority, he would submit to it; the other answered, that he had not it under the great seal; to which Doctor Plunket replied, that the little seal would serve his turn, but, until one or other was produced, he would take care to oversee Talbot, and expected to be obeyed. "These arrogant pretensions of Talbot," adds Harris, "obliged Plunket to interpose his authority as primate, and to inhibit him to go to England, where, he pretended, his presence was necessary, with the object of preventing the success of Peter Walsh's solicitations to have the remonstrance put in force; Plunket, otherwise a mild man, made him upon this occasion a sharp answer, 'that he had good grounds to believe there was no such matter, that he had the reputation of meddling too much in affairs of state, which was contrary to the canons and orders of the Pope,' and for that reason he inhibited him from going. Talbot was thereupon obliged to send to the nuncio at Brussels for a license of absence, under pretence of being required by his Majesty to attend him in England."* This unpleasant collision revived in the Catholic establishment that primatial question, which had been

* Ware's Writers, p. 192.

terminated nearly fifty years before in the Protestant. Both archbishops appealed to Rome, where, as alleged by Doctor Plunket, and subsequently by Doctor Hugh M'Mahon, a decision was made in favour of Armagh; and it was further ordained thereupon, that in the office of St. Patrick there should be inserted the attestation; "he, with the authority of the Roman pontiff, constituted Armagh the metropolitan of all the island."

In the commencement of the following year Archbishop Talbot sojourned for a short time at Ghent, and in that interval published, in quarto, a Treatise of Religion and Government, immediately after which he returned to Ireland; and when, in the May of the same year, (1670), Lord Berkeley was sworn Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Archbishop Talbot, immediately on his landing, waited upon him, was courteously received, and permitted to appear in his archiepiscopal character before the council, an indulgence without a precedent from the time of the Reformation. "The Lord Berkeley," as Harris would warp his motives, "did not care for the man, and was incensed at his impudent pretence to the king's authority for overseeing the Irish clergy, but he was afraid of his interest with the Duke of Buckingham, who had newly recovered his power at court, and, therefore, thought fit to smother his resentment."* Immediately afterwards, the Anti-Remonstrants caused provincial councils to be held throughout Ireland, and

* Harris's Ware's Writers, p. 192.

diocesan synods within most of the sees, the great business of which was, to strengthen these religious principles, which the Remonstrants would have sacrificed to their loyalty, and to control the proceedings of the clergy, regular and secular, who had subscribed that remonstrance. Archbishop Talbot was one of the chief promoters of this inquiry and correction, and the most effective, by means of his brother's credit at court; the Remonstrants of his diocese were, accordingly, removed from their cures, and other pastors substituted, until the Duke of Ormonde, who always favoured the former, having laid the proceedings of their opponents before the king, his Majesty especially instructed Lord Berkeley to restrain what he termed "the irregular acts of the persecuting party." The viceroy was, however, necessarily more conversant with the true state of affairs, and declined any active interference in this commission. "Lord Berkeley was a man of probity and moderate principles, who substituted a mild and merciful administration for the unrelenting tyranny of oppressors; the penal statutes of Elizabeth were relaxed, the public exercise of the Catholic religion allowed, its professors were admitted to all situations of trust and emolument, civil and military, to all franchises and corporations, to the rights and privileges of subjects, protected in their persons and properties, invested with political power, with shrievalties and magistracies to secure them against oppression and injustice. Under this system Ireland began to bloom and prosper, to recover from the miseries of the late war and the

desolation of Cromwell; arts and manufactures revived."*

On the 30th of August, 1670, Archbishop Talbot held a synod in Dublin, the acts of which, yet extant, are perfectly innocent of any political tendency. The first and essential canon enforces the catechising of the people by their priests on every Sunday and holiday, the others relate purely to matters of ecclesiastical discipline and the reservation of certain cases in confession. In July, 1671, however, a document is alleged by Archbishop King to have been found in Colonel Talbot's house, drawn up, as he supposes, by this prelate. It is given at length in the appendix to "The State of the Protestants of Ireland," (p. 41, &c.,) and, if it were in reality his composition, is extremely creditable to the judgment and diplomacy of Archbishop Talbot. As, however, it runs to considerable length, and rather concerns civil than ecclesiastical rights, it seems sufficient to refer to it on this occasion, only stating, that it was just such a manly but moderate assertion of the rights of the Roman Catholics, as one of their prelates might well seek to effectuate, and as the benign influence of Lord Berkeley's administration would reasonably encourage. Had its projected measures been conceded, what a quantity of blood, of treasure, of brotherly love and kindly feeling had been spared to Ireland? The Catholic laity were, however, more craving in their demands; they petitioned the king for a review of the Act of Settlement; but while, by the influence of

* O'Conor's Hist. of the Irish Catholics, p. 104.

Ormonde in this country, neither the petitioners nor their counsel would be heard, the English parliament presented an address to his Majesty, entreating him to maintain the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; they likewise besought him to give order, that no Papists should be admitted justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, or magistrates in Ireland; and that all licenses to Papists for inhabiting within corporations should be recalled; they likewise required, "that all Popish prelates, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended Archbishop of Dublin, should be commanded to depart from Ireland and all other his Majesty's dominions; that all convents and seminaries should be dissolved, and all secular priests banished; that Colonel Richard Talbot, assuming the title of agent of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, should be dismissed from all command, civil or military, and forbidden access to his Majesty's court; and lastly, that the chief governors of Ireland should have such orders and directions as might tend to encourage the English planters' and Protestant interest, and suppress the disorders of the Irish Papists."* Whereupon the king declared, that he was resolved to preserve the settlement of Ireland, and not to disturb any thing confirmed by the statutes enacted for that purpose.

At the close of this year (12th of March, 1671,) Archbishop Talbot held a second synod in Dublin,

* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 482, &c.

enforcing the publication of bans of marriages, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, any Catholic, male or female, from contracting matrimony with the offspring of Jews, Turks, or Moors; alliances which he further wholly interdicted any priest from solemnizing or promoting. At this period of his life he published in London, "A Confutation of the Principles of the Protestant Religion, as they are maintained by one Doctor Stillingfleet." Early in the following year, the liberal and enlightened Lord Berkeley was removed from the government of Ireland, and the bigoted Lord Essex substituted. The alteration was instantaneously evinced; a storm of persecution burst upon the Catholics, and Archbishop Talbot was at once marked out for proscription. The willing ear of the viceroy received his accusation, by which he was more especially charged with having sought, in concert with his brother Colonel Talbot and Sir Nicholas Plunkett, to introduce by sinister means Roman Catholics into the common council of the corporation of Dublin. Distrusting, as he well might, the impartiality, or even mercy, of those who should adjudicate on his merits, he renounced his country and his charge, and, after some studiously concealed wanderings, at length settled himself in sorrow, but safety, in the metropolis of France; from which city he wrote, on the 2nd of May, 1674, such a pastoral letter, addressed to those over whom he had presided in Ireland, and who could best estimate its veracity, as must convince the impartial historian, that the charges of disaffection and turbu-

lence, laid to his account, were but the unwholesome exhalations of the atmosphere which he sought to warm and brighten.

It was addressed "to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and particularly those of the city and diocese of Dublin, on the duty and comfort of suffering subjects," and is yet extant in print. "I should be very sorry," he writes, "that there were any just reason to believe, that, since my departure from you, any endeavours have been used to instruct you otherwise than I have done, as to the inviolable duty and obedience you owe to his Majesty's government and the laws you live under; and, though your former unanimous and humble acquiescence to my constant doctrine in this particular will not permit me to have the least doubt of your loyalty and peaceable behaviour, yet, because adversity is a strong temptation, and temporal necessities the most formidable of all motives to our corrupt nature, I thought fit to arm your souls against all such assaults, by summing up in this epistle the substance of what I have so often inculcated unto you by word of mouth in my exhortations. I hope you remember, that I always endeavoured to imprint this great truth lively in your minds, that the happiness of man consists more in this present state, in possessing the riches of a good conscience than the conveniences of this world. Good and bad fortune, as thy call them, are but improper nicknames and foolish notions, if by that language be meant riches and temporal prosperity; they should be of too mean and low a pitch for a

soul sprung from heaven and winged by Christianity to fly at. . . . . We are apt to miscal that persecution, which is a sweet providence of our heavenly father. . . . . To settle you therefore steadily in the submission you owe to the laws of the land, as well as in the charity you are by Christ's sweet law obliged to bear towards your Protestant neighbours and fellow-subjects, I will state your case worse than really it is, and suppose you were all driven to that utmost and worst extremity of begging your bread;—I say, though you were reduced even to that starving condition, yet ought you not to endeavour to better it by plotting or conspiring against his Majesty's government, person, or subjects; or by disturbing the peace of the kingdom." After enforcing these sentiments by argument and texts from the holy writings, he proceeds; "What I judge most necessary to divert you from, nay, even to root out of your hearts, is the envy or hatred, which I fear many entertain against those who have succeeded in their late possessions. I confess men are not ordinarily inclined to wish prosperity to others, raised whether justly or unjustly upon their ruin; but, if they will have the patience to consider, how common a thing the revolution of times is, and how changeable the best secured fortunes are, much of that animosity, wherewith the devil doth tempt them against their Protestant neighbours, would easily be abated. . . . . Tell me, I beseech you, what is this world, only a theatre of foolish and false shows? a short comedy, or rather indeed a short prologue of everlasting sadness to such as take most

delight in it; a perpetual conflict between life and death, sickness and health, fear and hope, joy and discontent. Again, what is an inheritance? a parcel of land whereof our ancestors were masters as long as they lived; which term of life, the only interest any of them could pretend to, is valued but at seven years' purchase? Is it reasonable then, think you, to fix your hearts so unreasonably and passionately upon that earth, as if your souls were to turn into it as well as your bodies? . . . . . Therefore, dearly beloved, I conjure you earnestly, as one who tenders your salvation as his own, and believes he must render to God an account for your souls, to bear with patience this cross which Christ has shared with you. . . . . These noble souls, who fix their hopes and thoughts upon Heaven, do from that height look down unmoved upon the vicissitudes of sublunary affairs and the storms of subject fortune." . . . . "I conjure you most earnestly," he concludes, "that, if any should endeavour to teach you any doctrine contrary to this which I give here under my hand and am ready to seal with my blood, you will look upon them as wolves, whatsoever their profession or habit seem to be. You have had experience of some preachers, who pretend great zeal to God and the king's service, and yet, at the same time, rebellion and murders were proved against them. These are the men you must not give ear to nor converse with, least you be infected with their doctrine and perverted by their example. Hear and follow the pastors who are answerable to God for your souls; not

mercenary hirelings, to whom the care of them does not properly belong; and yet, if either these, or I, or an angel from Heaven should go about to persuade you, that it is lawful to molest your Protestant neighbours, or defraud them of their goods, or enter upon their possessions by any means or method which the law of the land doth not allow, give them no credit, but let them be to you as an anathema; God of his mercy grant you light to see, strength to bear, and a truly wise Christian prudence to husband, and make that excellent advantage of your sufferings, which God's all-seeing wisdom ordained them for. In the jargon of worldly language they are called misfortunes, but believe me they are the same measures, which the sweetly continuing economy of Divine Providence ever took to make his servants happy."

Such were the sentiments, in which a mind at peace with itself sought to transfuse its own meekness and charity amongst the objects of its holy regard; and who can rise from the perusal of this document, and not vindicate the memory of the amiable Doctor Talbot? At this period of his life he published, in answer to the Jus Primatiale of Doctor Plunket, his "Primatus Dubliniensis," in assertion of the precedence and superiority of his archiepiscopal jurisdiction; a work which, Ledwich admits, "exhibits strong good sense and liberality." This assertion of title on behalf of Dublin was subsequently replied to by Hugh Mac Mahon, the Roman Catholic Primate of Armagh, in the "Jus Primatiale Armachanum," published in 1728, wherein the subject is most learn-

edly handled, but not so convincingly, as not to elicit a rejoinder from the Reverend John Clynch, as more particularly mentioned in the memoir of Doctor Edmund Byrne. Archbishop Talbot also published, in the same year and at Paris, "The History of the Iconoclasts," "An efficacious Remedy against Atheism and Heresy," "The History of Manicheism and Pelagianism," and "The Friar disciplined, or Animadversions on Friar Peter Walsh's new Remonstrant Religion."

In 1675 he ventured to return to England, where he took up his residence at Poole Hall, in Cheshire, in a dangerous and afflicting state of health from attacks of gravel and strangury. The longing after his country increased as he looked upon the sea that washed it, and at last, as fearing that the hour of his dissolution was approaching, he solicited and obtained, by the interest of the Duke of York, a connivance to his restoration to Ireland, where the unobtrusiveness of his life, as indeed necessitated by the circumstances under which he returned and the afflicting state of his health, is yet more forcibly evidenced by the utter absence of a single memorial to mark his path. In 1678, however, on the first of September, he was arrested at Malahide, on suspicion of being concerned in what was termed "the Popish plot." Nothing was found in his papers to justify the accusation, and his state of health, as alluded to, made it almost impossible that he could have been concerned in any public proceedings. As it seemed impossible to remove him in his state of pain and languor, the secu-

rity of his brother was accepted for his appearance; but even this indulgence was a source of dangerous misrepresentations, and therefore, on the return of the Duke of Ormonde to Dublin, Doctor Talbot was removed to the Castle, a prisoner on the point of death.

Within the walls of his dungeon the groans of his country fell heavy on his ear. On the 16th of October, 1678, a proclamation was published, commanding all archbishops, bishops, jesuits, &c., to quit the kingdom before the ensuing 20th of November; and, on that 20th of November, another order was promulgated, that no Catholic should enter the Castle of Dublin; and that the markets of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Drogheda, Galway, Wexford, and Youghal, should be held without and not within the walls, in contemplation of their exclusion. Proclamations were also issued, requiring that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries, and Popish schools should dissolve and separate themselves under penalties; and, to facilitate the departure of the proscribed, all owners and masters of ships, bound to parts beyond the sea, were required to give public notice of the time of their departure, and to take on board such ecclesiastics as might require to expatriate themselves. All Papists were at the same time forbidden to keep or carry arms, or to meet together at unseasonable hours or in unusual numbers, and rewards were offered for the discovery of any persons, "who had been perverted to the Popish religion or heard mass, having previously taken the oaths of allegiance and

supremacy." The master of every regiment was likewise enjoined to check the pay of every officer or soldier, who did not produce a certificate, from the bishop or minister of the place, of his having taken the sacrament, according to the Church of England, twice every year. On the 2nd of December following, a further and more mandatory circular issued from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, grounded on the aforesaid proclamation of the 16th of October, and alleging that several of the titular bishops and regular clergy had not obeyed it, therefore commanding all justices of the peace to make diligent search after them, commit them to prison, and return the names of their receivers and harbourers, that they too might be proceeded against according to law. "There is," says a pamphlet of the day, "all the discountenance given to mass houses in all places which the laws of Ireland will bear, nor is there licence for any arms given to any but such as need them, and for no more than is necessary for their security against Tories in their remote and scattered habitations, and for whose loyalty and peaceable demeanour the Lord Lieutenant is sufficiently certified by some Protestants of note.

The new year did not open with better auspices. On the 26th March, 1679, a proclamation issued, for seizing and committing to prison the respective "Popish pretended parish priests" in Ireland, and transporting them beyond the seas, unless, within fourteen days after any burglary, murder, or robbery committed, the persons who were guilty should be seized and brought to justice, and rewards were offered, to the appre-

henders of every archbishop, bishop, or jesuit, £10; and of every other commanded to depart, £5, while "Popish services in mass houses, or public places, were strictly prohibited." It was the last interdict of persecution, and fell like a death-blow on the captive prelate. He pined in his prison scarcely one year more, and died in 1680, under all its inflictions. The prejudices of his contemporaries have sought to vilify his memory, and even Mr. Moore has reflected their opinions, when he styles him, "the clever and turbulent Peter Talbot;" yet the weight of such an authority must yield in the absence of evidence to support it, and the equity of modern times should reverse the invidious judgment of the age in which he lived. The picture of this prelate is preserved in the interesting collection at Malahide Castle.

PATRICK RUSSELL.

[Succ. 1683. Ob. 1692.]

After a vacancy of three years, this archiepiscopal dignity was filled by the appointment of Doctor Patrick Russell thereto, an event which took place on the 2nd of August, 1683. In July, 1685, he held a provincial council at Dublin, in which, after reciting, that by reason of past persecutions such assemblies had been long previously unattainable, and after providing for the better observance of the festival of St. Laurence O'Toole, and that of the Conception, within the diocese of Dublin, it was ordained, that any priest, celebrating a marriage without licence from

the ordinary, or the parish priest of the place where the contracting parties were resident, should, as well as the said contracting parties, be excommunicated; that accurate registries should be kept of baptisms and marriages; that only golden or silver chalices should be used at mass; that, to remove the abuses and irreverence of divine service in the open air, every parish priest should have, within his parish, an oratory or chapelry wherein to celebrate mass; that no Catholic should attend the Protestant service, assist as sponsor at their baptisms, or contract marriage through their ministers; that every secular clergyman about to die, should make his will, and constitute, at least, another secular clergyman of the diocese one of his executors; that all Catholics should attend communion at Easter, which only the parish priest shall administer; that no priest, secular or regular, should celebrate mass in any private house without license from the ordinary, &c. This council further confirmed the decrees of those held in 1614 by Doctor Eugene Matthews, and in 1640 by Doctor Fleming. Besides Doctor Russell, there attended on this occasion the Roman Catholic Bishops, Doctors Phelan of Ossory, Wadding of Waterford, Wesley of Kildare, who was also administrator of Leighlin, assisted by deputies from the chapters of said sees, while Doctor Edward Murphy, afterwards himself Archbishop of Dublin, acted as secretary.

In the following year Doctor Russell assisted at a session of the Roman Catholic clergy held in Dublin, at which their primate, Doctor Maguire, presided,

and to which the Earl of Clarendon alludes in a despatch of the 15th of May, in that year, directed to the Earl of Rochester. "This is the day appointed by the titular bishops for a general convention of their clergy in this city, and there are great numbers of them come to town, and of other gentlemen and persons of quality. I am told one of their businesses is, to consider of putting on their habits and of wearing them about the streets; but no doubt there are matters of greater moment to be debated. I believe I shall have an account of all they do, but, what service I shall be able to do thereby, God only knows. One would think these people should not venture to execute anything, without first communicating their resolutions to the king, if they will not make me acquainted with them; though they pretend wonderful respect to me, and that they will do nothing without first communicating to me. . . . . This general convention, (for so it is publicly called and talked of by all sorts of people in the town,) is to continue for a week, so that I shall quickly see whether they will give me any more account of their proceedings than they did of their meeting. Methinks I should have an answer from my Lord Sunderland to what I wrote to him on the 27th past, whereby I should know how to guide myself in those matters; or, if this great meeting be by the king's allowance, methinks his lordship might have given me some directions, though they had been to take no notice of it; for then I should have been at ease, and known I had done no fault in not minding what they did. Suppose the

Protestant clergy should appoint a general convention from all parts of the kingdom, to be held in this city or anywhere else, without taking notice to me of it; I am sure I would not suffer them to meet, and would legally punish them for the attempt, and I believe his Majesty would well approve of my so doing; and certainly no government will permit any part of their subjects to assemble together without the supreme authority. I would be very glad to know your opinion in these matters; and whether I should send this information, of which I have here given you the substance, to my lord president, or any others of the proceedings at this convention, for I have reason to believe I shall have several; but if I do send them, I must conceal the names of my informers. The titular Archbishop of Dublin has been with me, he seems to be a good man but is no politician, he is a secular. I am told by a good hand of their own party, that he and the titular primate do not agree. About two days since he asked the primate by what authority this convention was called; to which the other answered, that was not a question to be asked, it should be known when they were met. The more they differ the better, and it is pity the contests between them may not be encouraged, but that I must not meddle with."* This last sentiment was greatly unworthy of Lord Clarendon, but history has been more retentive of his good qualities.

Doctor Russell also presided at a diocesan synod

* Singer's Correspondence of the Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 387, &c.

held in Dublin, on the 10th of June, 1686, in which it was decreed, in reference to the parochial clergymen having cure of souls, that each should have a schoolmaster in his parish, "to instruct the little children thereof in Christian doctrine and good courses," and should often inspect such school, and remove the master, if negligent; that none should absent himself from his cure beyond three nights, without the express license of the ordinary, nor even then, without appointing a sufficient curate to act for him; that parish priests should take care not to admit any to officiate at their altar, unless licensed in writing by the ordinary; that none should frequent taverns or places of public diversion; that no regular should administer the sacrament of the Eucharist to laymen on Easter Sunday; that no priest, except a parish priest, or his coadjutor, should celebrate mass twice on Sundays or holidays, except on the feast of the Nativity, or at all in private houses, without license from the ordinary; that no clergyman should solemnize funeral rites, without the permission of the parish priest or at his request, nor assist at the office of the dead, unless vested in the surplice or alb; that there should be three examiners in Dublin, on whose consciences it shall rest to sift the qualifications of any before being admitted to holy orders, and truly to testify thereof; that none should be admitted to such orders without examination, and, even after admission, that all having cure of souls may be recalled to further examination at the will of the ordinary; that none should be appointed coadjutor to a parish priest

without license from the ordinary, and a previous examination of his fitness; that, in case the parish priest should become unable to fulfil his duties by sickness, old age, or otherwise, the ordinary may oblige him to have a coadjutor, and appoint his salary; that no parish priest or other clergyman, having cure of souls, should exact more stipend or dues from his parishioners than had been of customary payment; that none should unbecomingly solicit the obtaining or retaining of any benefice; that religious persons, sent into the country with license of their superiors to beg alms, should be permitted by the parish priests to do so, and this even from their altars, as matter of grace not of right, until prohibited by the ordinary; that all clergymen should endeavour to prevent or punish the abuses of wakes, and to instruct the people, that such wakes were instituted for the good of the deceased, the performance of Christian rites, prayers for the repose of his soul, and affectionate remembrances of his past existence; that every clergyman, having the cure of souls, should diligently exhort his flock to strengthen themselves and their children with the sacrament of confirmation, and teach them "how necessary it is to receive it in this wretched country, where persecution so reiterates the perils of lapse from the faith;" that the bans of marriages should be proclaimed three times; that no priest should cite another, under pretext of any suit or controversy, before the civil authorities, but only before the ordinary, and that no layman ought to bring a priest to trial, or summon him before the civil authorities, until he

first submits the cause to the ordinary; that no regular should administer parochial duties, unless with the license of the parish priest, or in unavoidable necessity arising from his absence and that of his coadjutor," &c.

On the 4th of April, 1687, King James issued from Whitehall his first delusive and despotic edict for religious toleration, by an arbitrary dispensing with the existing laws; a document, undoubtedly, most amiable in its details, but as ill judged as it was ill exercised. "There is nothing now that we so earnestly desire," says the royal ordinance, "as to establish our government on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us by inclination, as well as duty, which we think can be done by no means so effectually, as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come, and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never in any case been invaded by us since our coming to the crown, which, being the two things men value most, shall ever be preserved in our kingdom during our reign over them, as the truest methods of their peace and our glory. We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church; yet, we humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of long time been, our constant sense and opinion, which upon divers occasions we have declared, that conscience ought not to be restrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion. It has ever been directly

contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers; and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed, and in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns; for, after all the frequent and pressing endeavours, that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible. We, therefore, . . . in the first place, do declare, that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever. We do likewise declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament, or for any other non-conformity to the religion established, or for or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended, and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every of them is hereby suspended. . . . . And that none of our subjects may for the future be under any discouragement or disability, who are otherwise well inclined and fit to serve us, by reason of some oaths or tests, that have been usually administered on such occasions,

we do hereby further declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that the oaths, commonly called the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations, mentioned in the acts of parliament made in the 25th and 30th years of the reign of our late royal brother, King Charles the Second, shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed, &c. . . . And we do hereby give our ample pardon to all non-conformists, recusants, and other our loving subjects, for all crimes and things by them committed or done, contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion and the profession or exercise thereof. . . . . And, although the freedom and assurance, we have hereby given in relation to religion and property, might be sufficient to remove from the minds of our loving subjects all fears and jealousies in relation to either, yet, we have thought fit further to declare, that we will maintain them in all their properties and possessions as well of church and abbey lands, as in any other their lands and properties whatsoever."

Every feeling, that dictated this arbitrary proclamation, was identified in the administration of the no less injudicious individual, to whom the feeble monarch resigned the honour of his crown and the welfare of his people. The peaceful course of Archbishop Russell's life was not, however, to be diverted from its legitimate channel, or hurried into any precipitate displays, by the impulse thus given to the followers of his faith. He continued by synods, and councils, and visitations, to inculcate humility

and attention in his clergy, and virtue and loyalty in their flocks. In 1688 (9th of May) he presided at a synod held in Dublin, wherein, after reciting the increasing poverty and want of his parochial clergy, it was decreed, that every parish priest, who wished, might on four days in the year publicly from his altar seek alms for his support, beyond what he had theretofore received from his parishioners, and continue to do so, until God of his infinite mercy would provide more abundantly for them; he also enjoined, that all persons in sickness or infirmity should call in their parish priest, within four days or sooner from the commencement of such visitation, for the purpose of receiving the rites of the Church, &c. On the first of August, in the same year, he held a provincial council, wherein, after reciting that the council of Trent enjoined such assemblies triennially, and that the times then permitted this wholesome regulation, it was declared to be thus commenced, for the service of the Church, the inculcating good morals, and the correcting bad; and it was decreed—that it was the duty of the parish priest to administer all parochial sacraments to soldiers quartered within their precincts, unless the chaplains of the regiment could prove some special privilege to the contrary; that every parish priest should, under pain of suspension, on the Lord's day explain some point of the Christian doctrine, or give a short exhortation to the people after the gospel; and that the constitutions of the councils of 1614, 1640, and 1685, should be and were thereby confirmed. On the 24th of

April, in the following year, he held a synod of his diocese, wherein clergymen having cure of souls were prohibited from being sureties for any one beyond 40*s*., without the license of the ordinary; the use of fish at collations on fast days was forbidden, and other former regulations relative to days of fast or abstinence were confirmed.

During King James's residence in the Irish metropolis, Doctor Russell enjoyed the distinction of performing the service and rites of his Church in the royal presence; if indeed the minister of any form of Christian worship, but particularly of the Roman Catholic, where the service is a sacrifice the most awful, can be influenced by the pride of earth, or the presence of mortal pre-eminence, while he offers up the homage of the creature to the God of all. The last rite, which he celebrated before the king, was the consecration of the Benedictine nunnery in Channel-row. On the downfal of the Stuart dynasty he fled to Paris, whence, however, he returned to close his life in the land of his ministry. At the termination of the year 1692 he paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the ancient church of Lusk, as mentioned at that locality in "The History of the County of Dublin." The event is there, however, erroneously referred to 1689. Doctor Russell's principal residence was in the old chapel house at Francis-street, where an ancient censer is still preserved, exhibiting the inscription, "Orate pro Patricio Russell, Archiepiscopo Dubliniæ, Primate Hiberniæ, et pro ejus

fratre Jacobo Russell, Decano Dubliniæ, et Protho-notario Apostolico, qui me fieri fecit."

PETER CREAGH.

[Succ. 1693.]

A short sketch of the period, in which Doctor Creagh filled this dignity, will sufficiently account for the utter obscurity in which his acts and life are concealed; and indeed the same continuing state of things must excuse the paucity of materials for the general biography of his immediate successors. The subject of the present notice, in his origin and family connexions, it would seem probable, was a relative of Sir Michael Creagh, who was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1688, and who had another brother Mayor of Newcastle, also knighted by King James. The latter erected a brazen statue of that king at Newcastle, which was pulled down by the populace and thrown into the river; but, being subsequently found, was converted into bells for All-Saints' Church. It is known that Doctor Creagh presided over the see of Cork for several years previous to 1686, about which period he was translated to the archdiocese of Tuam. On the flight of King James, and the surrender of Limerick, he left the country, and resided in Paris until on the 9th of March, 1693, he was further promoted to this dignity.

Persecution was not allowed to slumber; in 1695, the more than gothic acts were revived, that prohibited the foreign or domestic education of Catholics; other

penal enactments of great severity succeeded, and in 1697, "all the Popish prelates, vicars-general, deans, monks, jesuits, and all others of their religion, who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland," were ordered by act of parliament to depart from the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698; and in case of their coming back were subjected to imprisonment and transportation to foreign parts, whence, if they again returned, they were to be arraigned as traitors; by the same act, it was provided, that none should be buried in any monastery, abbey, or convent, not used for the Protestant service. In the same session was passed the statute preventing the intermarriages of Protestants with Catholics. In 1698, such was the persecution of the Catholic clergy, that, according to Captain South's account, the number of regulars alone "shipped off" from Ireland in that year were 153 from Dublin, 190 from Galway, 75 from Cork, and 26 from Waterford, making a total of 444.

Mr. Matthew O'Conor, Lord Taaffe, and some other historians of Ireland, are liberal in extolling the toleration of King William; but the author of this work, with every disposition to reconcile his countrymen to a character, most foully maligned by those who affect to immortalize his memory, cannot but think, that, with the evidence of the above penal enactments, his reign cannot be designated tolerant. The one class of writers too much identify his will with the measures of the ascendancy party, the other would only view him in his natural capacity, abstracted from those acts, to which, however abhorrent

they might be, he gave the royal assent. Whatever was the promise of the earlier period of his reign, it was too soon overcast, and every gleam of favour was utterly darkened by the succession of Anne. In her reign the provisions of the penal code against Popish bishops, deans, friars, jesuits, &c., coming into this kingdom, and against all who should harbour, relieve, or conceal them, were further enforced by the statute 2 Anne, c. 3, which was succeeded by the lamentable clauses of the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, further confirmed by the Act 8 Anne, c. 3. An invidious and artful measure succeeded, whereby it was required that an exact account should be taken of all "the Popish clergy" in the island, and registries were accordingly opened to ascertain the signatures and places of their abode. In submissive obedience to the mandate, 1080 entered the required particulars that but marked them for persecution. Of these, sixteen were parish priests in the city of Dublin, and fifty-four in the county.

During all this interval not a single notice of public importance has been discovered in connexion with Archbishop Creagh, and even the period of his death is only inferentially suggested by the date of his successor's appointment.

EDMUND BYRNE.

[Succ. 1707.]

In 1707 Doctor Edmund Byrne, who had received orders at Seville, was delegated to the dan-

gerous charge of this province, being then in the fifty-first year of his age. Soon after his promotion it was proposed, under parliamentary sanction, that a public convention of Protestant and Catholic prelates and doctors should be held for two months, to propound and debate on the disputed articles of faith; "on which occasion," says Mr. Clynch, in his defence of this prelate against the primatial authority asserted by Doctor Mac Mahon, as hereafter alluded to, "this praiseworthy archbishop alone, of all the Catholic prelates, attended said conferences, and there, with such zeal, such wisdom, and such superhuman eloquence, propounded the principles of his religion in the public College of Dublin, that many, illuminated by the rays of truth, shaking off the yoke of heresy, sought the harbour of safety in the bosom of the Church." The executive, however, were not influenced by his reasoning. The policy of King William, even so far as he was permitted to exercise it, died with him. Queen Anne was prevailed upon to utterly annihilate the security he had given, to revoke the public faith pledged to the Catholics as the price of their submission at Limerick, and a million of loyal subjects were prohibited by the heaviest penalties from co-operating in the public service. The illustration of these enactments is deplorably attainable in what ought to immortalize the wisdom of senators—the statute books; it must, however, be here briefly observed, that by virtue of these acts Catholics were interdicted from realizing the profits of their own industry, under the penalty of forfei-

ture; excluded from all leasehold interests for terms longer than thirty-one years; informers were encouraged to acquire legal benefits by treachery, where nature or justice could confer none; and, what was still more fiendishly aggravating, a son, conforming to the established law, entitled himself to divest his Catholic father of his inheritance; and, while on the one hand an annuity of £30 was offered to every conformist priest, rewards were prescribed for the apprehension of those who maintained their faith; £50 for every archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, &c.; £20 for every priest, regular or secular; and £10 for every Popish schoolmaster, tutor, or usher. The leading act of this code (8 Anne, c. 3) required, that the doomed ecclesiastics should take the oath of abjuration, under pain of being transported; but, even with this alternative, only thirty-seven of the 1,080 registered clergymen were influenced to take the oath. To the credit of a portion of the Protestant hierarchy it should be mentioned, that Archbishop King and seven other prelates of that faith, with becoming Christian charity, protested against many of those tyrannous enactments, that sought to enslave the privilege of thinking, and disorganize the elements of society.

In 1712, when Edward Eyre, Mayor of Galway, was directed to suppress the nunneries in that town, "Doctor John Burke, then provincial of the Franciscans in Ireland, of which order the nuns were, obtained permission from Doctor Edmund Byrne, titular Archbishop of Dublin, to admit them into his

diocese, hoping they would be less noticed there, than in a place upon which government kept so strict an eye as Galway. A few of these unhappy ladies were accordingly translated to Dublin, but they had scarcely reached the city, when the Lords Justices received information of their arrival, and immediately issued orders for their apprehension; in consequence of which several of them were taken in their conventual habits. A proclamation then issued, dated the 20th of September in that year, to apprehend said John Burke, Doctor Byrne, and Doctor Nary, as Popish priests attempting to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and it was ordered that all the laws in force against the Papists should be strictly carried into execution; such were the fears and alarm caused by the arrival of a few weak women in the capital, as if the circumstance had been sufficient to overturn the Government, or to shake the foundations of the Established Church."*

On the 7th of August, 1714, in the proclamation announcing the accession of George the First, it was required "for preventing dangers that might arise at this juncture from Papists, or other persons disaffected to his Majesty's government, and for preserving the public peace of this kingdom;" that all Papists, theretofore licensed to keep and wear arms, should deliver same and all ammunition to the next justice of the peace, and all justices were commanded to seize and take all serviceable horses found in the

* Hardiman's Hist. of Galway, p. 275.

possession of any Papist or suspected person. This proclamation was signed by William, Archbishop of Dublin, Welbore Ellis, Bishop of Kildare, P. Savage, &c., &c.

In March, 1717, when the Dominican nuns were driven from Galway, as the Franciscans had been a few years previously, Hugh O'Callanan, then provincial of the former order, obtained a similar permission from Archbishop Byrne, for their admission into his diocese, where in the September following, they founded the convent of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph of Dublin.* It was at this period of his prelacy, that Doctor Byrne was involved in a controversy with his brother prelate of Armagh, Doctor M'Mahon, on the ancient primatial rights. The renewal of this difference was occasioned by the former having divided the long united parishes of St. James and St. Catherine, as had been done some few years before in the Established Church; the Roman Catholic incumbent thereupon appealed to Dr. M'Mahon, whose zeal in the assertion of his own pre-eminence produced that very learned work, the "Jus Primatiale Armachanum." The matter was referred to the College de Propagandâ, whose decision, after a litigation of some years, restored the appellant; the subject was, however, again more solemnly laid before the Pope in council, when the claim of Archbishop Byrne was supported in argument by the Rev. John Clynch, one of the clergymen

* Hardiman's Hist. of Galway, p. 277.

of his Grace's diocese. This divine's defence is exceedingly scarce; the only copy, which the author of these memoirs has ever seen, is in manuscript in the collections of his publisher, Mr. Smith. It alleges, that seven clergymen were necessary for the cure of souls in the two parishes of St. Catherine and St. James; that, on the division, Doctor Byrne had designed the former for the vicar-general of his diocese, and accordingly it had been so held by Doctor Goulding and Doctor Kavanagh successive vicars-general, when the decree of the Propagandâ restored the old incumbent; and, in reference to the main question in dispute, the advocate relied, that primatial authority ought to reside in that province which contained the largest population, the seat of government, and the constant metropolis of the island; that Armagh was comparatively an obscure and remote locality, only respected from its antiquity not its authority; that the visitations, alleged to have been made in olden time by the prelate of Armagh in other provinces, were confined to Connaught and Munster; and only exercised there with the view of collecting an ecclesiastical assessment called 'the law of St. Patrick,' and which continued to be paid in the national reverence for the apostle of Ireland; that Saint Patrick himself, though the patron of Ireland, never was its primate; that the Archbishop of Dublin was the first invested with the pall by Cardinal Paparo; that the province was previously subject to Canterbury, but, being thereby exempted, became itself as supreme. Clynch also reiterated those letters patent

of Kings John and Edward the Third, and bulls of Eugenius the Third, Honorius the Third, Lucius the Third, Innocents the Third and Fourth, which have been before alluded to at their respective dates, and confidently denied the existence of any authentic Bull in favour of Armagh. The final decision of the Roman college has not been ascertained, and it but remains to say, that Doctor Byrne died in a few years afterwards, leaving the memory of his virtues to be recorded only in some Irish poems by John O'Neachtan and by Hugh Mac Curtin respectively.

EDWARD MURPHY.

[Succ. 1724. Ob. 1729.]

Of the early period of this prelate's life it is recorded, that at the synod before mentioned, as having been held by Archbishop Russell, in July, 1685, Edward Murphy acted as secretary, as also at that held by the same prelate, in August, 1688. He was subsequently Bishop of Kildare, from which see he was, in 1724, translated to the government of this province, which he filled during five years, and died in 1729.

It may be remarked, that, in the year after such his promotion, the act was passed to prevent "Popish priests and degraded clergymen from celebrating marriages between Protestants, or between a Protestant and a Papist, under penalty of death; and in the same session another statute excluded Papists from voting at vestries.

LUKE FAGAN.

[Succ. 1729. .]

In 1729, Doctor Luke Fagan was translated from the diocese of Meath to this see, which he also filled during about five years, residing in that interval at the ancient chapel-house in Francis-street; but, notwithstanding the spirit of toleration, which greatly pervaded the government of George the Second, this prelate has not by any public act, civil or ecclesiastical, projected himself to the notice of posterity; while, in reference to the state of Catholicity in his time, it is only to be remarked, that in 1733, probably the last of Doctor Fagan's life, the act was passed, 7 Geo. II, c. 6, whereby converts from the Roman Catholic faith, whose wives were of that persuasion, or whose children were educated in it, were prohibited, under severe penalties, from exercising the office of justices of the peace.

JOHN LINEGAR.

[Succ. 1734. Ob. 1756.]

In 1734 Doctor Linegar was appointed to this dignity, which he held as unmolested as could be expected during the existence of the penal code, until the administration of the Duke of Devonshire. In the intermediate year, however, of 1739, the act of King William, "for disarming the Papists," was further enforced, with a remarkable exception of such as were in Limerick in October, 1691, or had borne arms under a commission from King James, and had

submitted previous to the act of William, nor since refused to take the oath of allegiance. During the short viceroyalty of the before mentioned nobleman, the vengeance of the law was again fulminated against the Catholic prelacy and priesthood; and, on the 28th of February, 1743, a proclamation issued, by which all justices of peace were directed to put the penal laws in force for the detection of Popish prelates and priests, and, in the same document, large pecuniary rewards were offered for the seizure and conviction of those proscribed persons, and of any others who should dare to conceal them, or receive them hospitably into their houses.*

In consequence of this harsh and cruel edict, the chapels were closed, domiciliary visits were made in search of the fugitive priests, and universal alarm was diffused through the country; yet some zealous ecclesiastics having ventured to exercise their ministry in obscure and unfrequented places, on one of these occasions, a priest of the name of John Gerald officiated in the interior of a ruinous habitation in the city of Dublin. The mass was concluded, the benediction given, and the people had risen to depart, when suddenly the house fell; Father Gerald and nine of his auditors were killed on the spot, and many more were severely bruised or maimed. Moved to pity by this lamentable event the Lords Justices, who succeeded the duke, one of whom was the Protestant primate, Hoadly, effected toleration in the council,

* De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 717.

and the chapels were again opened on the 17th of March, 1745, the anniversary of St. Patrick's day.*

In 1751 Doctor Linegar received from Rome instructions, which he was directed to transmit to the Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, to be by each of them communicated to their suffragans, and by which the several prelates were exhorted to subdivide too extensive districts into new parishes, or otherwise to select coadjutors for the parish priests for the service of their flocks; the prelates were also directed to reside and enforce residence within their sees; and in every second year to report, to the nuncio at Brussels, the state of the Catholic religion and of ecclesiastical discipline within their sees. Confessors were forbidden to take alms at their confession-boxes; and parish priests were directed to cause the children of their charge to be taught their catechism diligently and correctly; while in reference to the regular clergy, their superiors were ordered to avoid admitting any to take the religious habit in Ireland; as it was desirable that those, who sought such preferment, should assume the habit only in monasteries existing in Catholic countries, where the noviciates are regulated according to the constitutions of the Popes; and should not return to Ireland until they finished the course of their studies there, and, in particular, fully acquired the knowledge of dogmatic and moral theology. Archbishop Linegar lived until the year 1756. His portrait is preserved at the Sienna convent in Drogheda.

* De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 176.

RICHARD LINCOLN.

[Succ. 1757. Ob. 1762.]

Doctor Lincoln was appointed to succeed Doctor Linegar, in 1757; in the October of which year, he caused an exhortation to be read from the altars of all the chapels in his diocese, inviting the Roman Catholics to be thankful to those, who, without distinction of persons, had preserved them by their benevolence and charity in the then recent visitation of famine; and "especially to be most earnest in their thanks to the chief governors and magistrates of the kingdom, and of the city of Dublin in particular, who on this occasion proved the fathers and saviours of the nation." He further encouraged them to a continuance of peaceful and Christian dispositions, while he feelingly and forcibly appealed to those of another communion as to Catholic loyalty and love. "A series of more than sixty years," he said, "spent with a pious resignation under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation with which they were executed ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiassed persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrines and tenets of our holy Church." The excellent document concluded by urging his flock to abstinence from sin, and the performance of moral and religious duties.

In 1759 (1st December), "when a foreign enemy

was meditating desperate attempts, to disturb the happiness and interrupt the repose which these kingdoms had so long enjoyed," the Roman Catholics of this diocese presented an address to the Duke of Bedford, then viceroy, assuring him that "they were ready and willing, to the utmost of their abilities, to assist in supporting his Majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever." About this time some unfortunate disputes arose between Archbishop Lincoln and the regular clergy of his diocese; the former having felt it necessary to control their faculty of hearing confessions, and to prescribe other matters of ecclesiastical discipline: in consequence of which an ordinance issued from Rome in August, 1761, more peremptorily enjoining the manner in which alone such confessions should be permitted, and otherwise adjusting the disputed points of discipline.*

In February, 1762, a yet more benevolent and loyal exhortation, than that of 1757, was read from the altars of the different chapels in Dublin, strongly urging the respective congregations to submission and allegiance, generously adverting to the great lenity and indulgence of the new monarch's and his royal ancestors' government, in reference to those penal enactments which had originated before the accession of the House of Brunswick, and recommending the king to their affectionate prayers, "That the God of hosts," it concluded, "may bless his Ma-

* See De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 753.

jesty, his officers, and his troops, inspire and direct his councils, and grant such a glorious and a happy conclusion to the war, that a solid, lasting, and advantageous peace may restrain the effusion of Christian blood." The different clergymen at the same time exhorted their congregations not to aid, abet, or succour any deserters, nor connive at their deserting; and also recommended, in the most expressive terms, to all such of their flock as should take his Majesty's royal advance money, not to quit their colours upon any account, as they, on behalf of themselves and the fraternity of their ministry, disavow in the most solemn manner any such mal-practices; for that such of their flock, as should in any way derogate from this charge, would incur the anathema of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church.*

Doctor Lincoln died at the close of the same year, and was buried in a family vault in St. James's church-yard, Dublin.

PATRICK FITZSIMON.

[Succ. 1763. Ob. 1769.]

In 1763 Patrick Fitzsimon, Dean of Dublin, and Parish Priest of St. Audeon's, was appointed to this dignity, which he filled during six years, but his life was so unobtrusive and so purely ecclesiastical, as to leave, even amongst his relatives, no materials of sufficient interest for a popular memoir. It may, how-

* Sleater's Public Gazetteer, Feb. 20, 1762.

ever be noticed, that his prudence and sound judgment were pre-eminently evinced on the occasion, when the intemperate Ghillini, the Pope's nuncio at Brussels, denounced the test oaths, that were projected as a security in contemplation of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland, and actually directed to Doctor Fitzsimon an authoritative remonstrance against it, which he designed for circulation, as a pastoral letter, through the province: the good sense and genuine christianity of the archbishop, however, suppressed the rash and uncharitable production. He died in Francis-street, Dublin, at the advanced age of seventy-six.

The Irish parliament, it may be mentioned, in the last year of this prelate's time issued an order to the several archbishops and bishops of the Established Church to return a list of the several families in their parishes, distinguishing which were Protestants, and which were Papists; as also a list of the several reputed Popish priests and friars residing in their parishes.

JOHN CARPENTER.

[Succ. 1770. Ob. 1786.]

Doctor Carpenter was the son of a respectable merchant-tailor, who resided in Chancery-lane, Dublin. It is related of him, that he was dumb until the age of seven, when, having strayed away from his home to a remote part of the city, under the influence of terror at the crowds that gathered round him, and the excitement of the accident, his voice

was suddenly called into action, and the first sounds he uttered indicated, as might be expected, his father's name and address. Having passed, according to the necessities of the times, to a foreign university, (Lisbon), for education and degrees, he, on his return to his native city, was appointed a curate in St. Mary's parish chapel. At this period of his life, the circumstances of the country precipitated him in a political position, which cannot be better illustrated than in the following extract of an unpublished work, from the pen of Mr. Matthew O'Conor, and which he has kindly communicated to the writer of these memoirs.

" Landed security for money lent and a legal test of loyalty had been long the object of pursuit with the managers of the concerns of the Irish Catholics. The first would have given them a footing in the land of their birth, and a legislative recognition of their loyalty would have furnished irresistible arguments for their admission to the privileges of subjects. Doctor Curry and Mr. O'Conor had urged in all their tracts the justice and policy of these measures; and Lord Taaffe, in his intercourse with men in power, did not fail to impress them with his usual energy. In the hope of attaining these objects, he undertook a journey in the winter of 1767 to the Irish metropolis from his residence in Silesia, and apprized the committee in Dublin of his arrival in London. 'I am here,' he wrote to Doctor Curry, 'these ten days, and am sorry to see that we take nothing in hands seriously. 'Tis a great disappointment to me that Mr. Carpenter is not here with

some instructions. If we would take our affairs in earnest in hands, I do hope for certain we would succeed; I would be glad to be in Ireland before the parliament would sit after Christmas; I will have letters for the Lord Lieutenant; for, if I can do nothing this parliament, I can't expect next winter to be able to make such a long journey. I got no letters from Ireland, which grieves me much.' The Dublin committee hailed his lordship's arrival, by sending Mr. Carpenter to aid his exertions and to officiate as his chaplain and secretary."*

The narrative of this mission is supplied in the following letter from Mr. Carpenter in London to Doctor Curry, dated 26th of November, 1767:—"I embarked," he writes, "on the 18th instant, I landed that night at Holyhead, set out next morning in the rain for Chester, which I reached after a great deal of fatigue on the 20th, and that same day took post for London, where I arrived on the 24th. Though late at night I went in quest of my lord, whom I found confined with a fit of the gout, and, as the post was going off, he made me write a few lines to you. After this I had a walk of two miles to my inn, but have since taken a lodging convenient to his lordship. The great expedition of this journey was expensive, but it was necessary as my lord had been here a fortnight. The living here is also more expensive than I imagined, and for my bare lodging I am to pay half a guinea a week. In this case I think

* O'Conor's MS. Continuation of the History of the Irish Catholics.

the most convenient method of remittance is, to order some merchant here to advance me weekly what may be judged reasonable during my stay here. His lordship flatters himself that our journey will be productive of some good. Give my hearty service to Mr. O'Conor: how many happy evenings have you now an opportunity of spending in the company of that great and good man."

In another letter of the same correspondence, dated December 19th, 1767, Mr. Carpenter continues:—"I have it in express command from his lordship, (Lord Taaffe,) to communicate the steps he has taken since the 12th. The next day he waited on your new chancellor, (Lord Lifford,) with whom he conversed for a considerable time on the affairs of Ireland; he assured him with his usual plainness and sincerity, that he had quitted his family and friends, and undertaken, at this advanced time of his life, a long and toilsome journey, with no other view but to obtain some relief for his poor distressed countrymen. He spoke very freely as well as feelingly of the rigour of the penal laws, and of the refusal given to the *Elegit* Bill; and dwelt a good deal upon some facts, to which he happened to be a witness, particularly the late troubles in the South; the fatal effects of those troubles, and the violent party-rage which had been the cause of them. He concluded with an earnest request, that he (the Chancellor) would use every possible means of informing himself from Judge Aston, and others, of the true state of the country, before he quitted this kingdom. The substance of

what the Chancellor said during this long conversation was, that he was fully determined to open his ears to any information necessary for the impartial administration of justice; that the refusal of granting any other security to Catholics for money lent, but a personal and precarious one, was both unreasonable and cruel, and that a mitigation of the rigour of some penal laws already seemed to be intended, from the late determination of the Chancellor here in the case of Hobson and Mash. Lord Taaffe was extremely well pleased with his visit and went directly to court; here the queen, (who that day made her first appearance after lying-in,) took particular notice of him; she congratulated him on his recovery from the gout; told him the king had spoken to her of him, and continued for some time conversing to him in German. At this time he again met with the Chancellor, by whom he was accosted in a very friendly manner. From the acquaintance with the Chancellor, which he will endeavour to improve, my lord has great expectations. He is now every day abroad from morning until night, and is determined to omit no opportunity of engaging the interest of the great, while he remains here. Besides the visits he makes, he regularly attends at the levees of the court, and at the assemblies of the several ambassadors, so that I shall hereafter enjoy but very little of his company. This account of his progress here, he still positively asserts must not be communicated by you to any one, excepting the three persons he mentioned in a former letter."

"After several applications to men in power," continues Mr. O'Conor, whose narrative it were injustice to abridge, "Lord Taaffe proceeded to Dublin in the following February, where by his exertions and influence he defeated the Quarterage Bill; but the times were not yet ripe for a relaxation of the code. Lord Townsend, then engaged in the conflict with the oligarchy, feeling that concessions to the Catholics would throw the whole body of the Protestants into the hands of that oligarchy, wisely avoided all measures tending to unite his enemies and to obstruct his operations; yet he would often humorously say to Lord Taaffe, that, if his head were as good as his heart, he would do more service to the bloody minded Papists. The oligarchy were at this period too strong in the long enjoyment of power, and in the rooted aversion of the Protestant part of the community to the Catholics, to be shaken by any other means than by corruption and division. Any substantial relief to the body of the people; any effort to break in upon the code, would have rallied, round the standard of the great families, every man of weight or consequence in the kingdom, and would have infallibly defeated Lord Townsend's great project of restoring to the crown its constitutional prerogative. Lord Taaffe, finding the horizon too clouded to expect any success during the session of 1768, returned to Germany; having obtained the Lord Lieutenant's permission to correspond freely with him on the subject of the Catholics; and having, in his way through London, waited on Lord Frederick

Campbell, the Irish secretary, on Lords Mansfield and Shelbourne, and other ministers, in order to impress on them the policy of relieving the country from the intolerable burthen of the penal code. In this great object his whole soul was absorbed; and, though success crowned not his efforts, the reader will scarce feel less pleasure in perusing, than the writer in recording, the zealous efforts of a statesman in his 87th year, to relieve the distresses of a people, with whom he was connected by the mere land of birth, having neither property nor connexions in his native country. His applications in England were little attended to. The Irish Catholics were then of too little weight to be taken up by contending factions, and considered of too little importance to be noticed in the system of empire."* Their venerable mediator died soon afterwards at his seat in Silesia, in the fulness of honours and years, an undoubted instance of a patriot, the sole incentive of whose actions was his country's good.

On the death of Doctor Fitzsimon, the regulars of this province anxiously solicited the translation of Doctor De Burgo, the celebrated writer of the "Hibernia Dominicana," from the see of Ossory to this archiepiscopal dignity; but the influence of the Earl of Fingal, Charles O'Conor of Balinagare, and others of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and the warm concurrence of the secular clergy of Dublin, effected the promotion of Doctor Carpenter hereto, who was

* O'Conor's MS. Continuation of the History of the Irish Catholics.

accordingly so presented, as prebendary of Wicklow and curate of St. Mary's, for the approval of the Propagandâ, and was consecrated in Liffey-street chapel, on the 3rd of June, 1770, by the Catholic Primate, Doctor Blake, assisted by Doctors Keeffe of Kildare, and De Burgo of Ossory. In the parliament of the year that succeeded Doctor Carpenter's elevation, the long sought measure of securing to Roman Catholics sums advanced by them to Protestants on mortgages of lands was rejected, as it was again in that of 1772, and a third time in 1774, by a yet increasing majority. In November, 1778, "Doctor Carpenter, at the head of seventy of his clergy, and several hundred Roman Catholic laity, attended at the Court of King's Bench in Dublin, and took the oaths prescribed by the late act for the relief of Roman Catholics in that kingdom."*

In the session of 1781–2, was passed the act, enabling Roman Catholics to purchase lands or any interest therein, except manors, advowsons, and boroughs returning members to parliament; and their clergy, on registering their names and residences, were exempted from any statutable penalties. By another statute of the same session, Catholic schoolmasters, being duly licensed by the ordinary, were permitted to teach children of that persuasion, and Catholic laymen were allowed to be guardians of such children.

On the 29th of October, 1786, Doctor Carpenter

* Dodsley's Annual Register, vol. xxi. p. 208.

closed his mortal career, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in St. Michan's churchyard, Dublin, where a simple slab records his unostentatious but zealous services. He was not endowed with any especially splendid talents, but more usefully distinguished for sound judgment, strong memory, and diligent research. His administration was by his piety and prudence an interval of peace and devotion to his arduous ecclesiastical duties.

JOHN THOMAS TROY.

[Succ. 1786. Ob. 1823.]

The successor of Doctor Carpenter was born at a seat of the family, situated near Porterstown in the county of Dublin. At the early age of fifteen, he left this country to prosecute his studies in Rome, where he assumed the Dominican habit, and gradually passed from grade to grade, until he became rector of St. Clement's in that city. In 1776, on the death of Doctor de Burgo, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, the Pope selected this divine as most worthy to succeed that illustrious prelate. He was, accordingly, consecrated in the same year at Louvain, on his way homewards, by the Archbishop of Mechlin, assisted by two mitred abbots. On arriving in his diocese he revived those religious conferences upon cases of conscience, which had been wisely prescribed by the statutes of the Church, but, from necessity, had been discontinued for some years, and, to guard against any confusion or disunion on such occasions, he pre-

scribed, that the presidents of each conference should take care, that the subjects of discussion be treated on with the greatest practical brevity and precision; and that, in order to elucidate and explain such subjects, the truth should be sought from the holy Scriptures, the decrees of the Popes, the councils, and the constant and general practice of the Church.

In January and October, 1779, he promulgated very spirited circulars against the then too prevalent outrages of the Whiteboys; and, on the 17th of the latter month, caused all such persons to be solemnly excommunicated in the churches of his diocese. In 1781, in consequence of a prosecution instituted at Rome by the Catholic clergy of Armagh against their Primate, Doctor Blake, on the ground of his non-residence, Doctor Troy was commissioned to re-establish peace in that province, whereupon he held a meeting in St. Peter's Chapel, Drogheda, which continued its sittings for several days, and was attended by the chief clergy of Armagh. In November, 1784, in consequence of the increased turbulence of the Whiteboys, and their especial resort within the diocese of Ossory, by reason, as it would seem, of the refuge and hiding-places which its numerous coal-mines afforded, this prelate addressed a circular to his clergy, in which, after referring to his former circulars of 1779, he feelingly deplored, that tumult and disorder should exist amidst the dispensations of peace and a plentiful harvest, and that so many, unmindful of the ignominious deaths of their former associates, and deaf to the dictates of reason and the principles of

religion, so often inculcated from the altars of his diocese, were yet exerting themselves to renew those horrid scenes of slaughter and of bloodshed, which years ago had polluted this part of the island; he denounced the blasphemy, by which they had dared to interpose the sanctity of an oath for an object of conspiracy; and, as his silence on such an occasion might either be mistaken by the ignorant, or interpreted in a sinister way by the malevolent, he solemnly pronounced the oaths, taken by these deluded creatures, bonds of iniquity, unlawful, infamous, and damnable, and of no force to bind; that such combinations of iniquity were contrary to the maxims of the Catholic religion, destructive of the public peace, injurious to the quiet possessions of private individuals, and in their nature tending to the subversion of all law and order; and, finally, that such Roman Catholics as took part in these outrages were scandalous members, cut off from the Church, from the communion of which they had been separated by the sentence of excommunication, solemnly pronounced against them, as before mentioned. This well-timed, loyal, and effective admonition induced an especial letter of thanks from the Secretary of State.

In 1786 Doctor Troy proposed, as subjects for the conferences of his diocese, Natural Law in relation to human society with reference to the perverse opinions of Cumberland, Hobbes, Collins, and others, alike destructive of government and religion; the disputants being directed to refute their theory, to shew the necessity of revelation and the sacred writ-

ings and the traditions preserved in the Church for the government of man; and to evince that the light of reason alone could not effectuate the object. In the same year he felt it necessary to prohibit the celebration of these public festivals, called "patrons" and "May balls," which, although they had originated in the piety of the faithful, were frequented with a spirit utterly conflicting with devotional exercises, and closed in riot, intemperance, and vice. At the termination of the year 1786, on the decease of Doctor Carpenter, he was translated to this archiepiscopal dignity by the Pope; and no selection could have elicited more universal joy and congratulation amongst all classes of the people.

In the November of the ensuing year (1787) he issued his pastoral directions to his clergy, in which he strictly prohibited the future celebration of midnight masses, which had theretofore, as in Catholic countries, ushered in the festival of Christmas, and enjoined that no mass should on that occasion take place earlier than six o'clock A. M.; directed the time within which masses should be commenced, and that no priest should celebrate two on a retrenched holyday; that every parish priest should on Sundays and holydays read aloud to his congregation, before each mass, the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, with that of Contrition; directed that, whenever indulgences were published, those who sought the benefit thereof should be exhorted of the essential requisites for such holy hopes, viz. sacramental confession, with all its sincere and unequivocal qualities, penitence,

satisfaction, communion, prayers, almsgiving, &c.; forbade any priest, regular or secular, from appearing at hunts, races, or public concerts; ordered that in every deanery or rural district conferences should be regularly held in moral theology once in every month from April to October, and in the parishes of the city of Dublin once in every month of the year; and, to control private and surreptitious marriages, he required that the contracting parties should confess and communicate. He enjoined the clergy frequently to catechise the children of their parishioners, and exhorted the laity to a regular and solemn observance of Easter communion, &c. &c. In 1970 he published a strong pastoral, impressing the solemnity with which "the sacrament of matrimony" should be approached, and decrying the too prevalent resort to "couple-beggars" and degraded ministers; and on the 15th of March, 1792, he and the clergy of his diocese signed a declaration, solemnly disavowing, and condemning as wicked and impious the opinions,—that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, might be thereupon deposed or murdered;—that any ecclesiastical power could dissolve subjects from their allegiance;—that it is lawful to murder or injure any person, under the pretence of his being an heretic;—that an act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can be justified under pretence of being done for the good of the Church or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power;—that no faith is to be kept with heretics, or that the Pope has or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction

within this realm, &c. This disavowal of opinions, most falsely but too prevalently attributed to Catholics, induced the Act of the same session, whereby persons of that persuasion were permitted to follow the professions of barristers and attorneys, and marriages between them and Protestants were legalized, provided they were celebrated by clergymen of the Established Church; concessions, which were speedily followed by far more important immunities and relaxations for the long persecuted Catholics.

In 1793 Doctor Troy published Pastoral Instructions on the Duties of Christian Citizens, a work which was too rashly impugned as favouring republicanism; whereas the sole object, for which that form of government was mentioned in the pamphlet, was to meet the objection too frequently urged, that the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion favour arbitrary government, and the consequent deduction that its professors were unfit to exercise privileges under a free constitution. This Doctor Troy refuted by reference to the republics which were established and governed by Roman Catholics; but in no instance did he institute the slightest comparison between the different forms of government. The whole scope of the work was to evince, that Roman Catholics, adhering to the principles of their Church, are loyal and dutiful subjects; because their religion enjoins obedience to constituted authority, to the power that is established under any form of government. In no countries has that allegiance to hereditary monarchy been more effectively tried and proved than in Great

Britain and Ireland, or such sacrifices made by Catholics to restore it when dethroned, and to preserve it when restored. Indeed the character and writings of this prelate, "the steady loyalist," as even Dr. Duigenan styled him, should have been a guarantee against such an interpretation of any production of his. In accordance with that character, in the troubled period of 1798, he denounced sentence of excommunication against any of his faith and within his diocese, who would rise in arms against the government, and in consequence thereof a conspiracy was plotted against his life, from which he narrowly escaped.

In 1814 a contest arose between this prelate and the grand jury of the city of Dublin, relative to the Catholic chaplaincy of the gaol of Newgate. The grand jury having appointed one, Doctor Troy suspended him on the ground of incompetency; the former appealed to the Court of King's Bench, and were informed by the Chief Justice, that, if the person they had selected was not to be found at his post, they must proceed to nominate another, and so on until the office was substantially filled. The grand jury, however, chose to adopt a different course, and sent an order to the prison, that no other Catholic clergyman should be admitted except him whom Doctor Troy had suspended. A disgraceful and protracted strife ensued, and the grand jury, in the mean time, under the shield of a lingering penal enactment, maintained a suspended clergyman in an office which his legitimate pastor declared him unfit to fill. In April, 1815, Doctor Troy laid the foun-

dation stone of his metropolitan church, but lived not to witness its completion. On the 11th of May, 1823, he departed this life in the 84th year of his age, and was buried, the first corse, in the vaults of the temple he had founded; while the first mass celebrated within its walls was for the repose of his soul. He was a truly learned and zealous pastor, attached to the honour of his God and his Church and the Holy See, a lover and promoter of the most pure Christian morality, vigilant in the discharge of his duty, and devotedly solicitous, not only for the spiritual good of those consigned to his charge, but also for the public quiet of the State; and with all this, so unassuming and meek was he, that the humblest child of his diocese would approach him with confidence and love; but it is needless to dwell upon a character so vividly impressed upon the hearts of the people; and, even if the recollections of his virtues were fading from their memories, the presence of his successor would recal and refresh their brightest traits. Doctor Troy in truth bequeathed to his province, in the person of that successor, whom himself had selected as his coadjutor fourteen years previous to his decease, a living and speaking monument of all that he had practised as a Christian, or enforced as a Bishop, during his long and happy government of this province.

DANIEL MURRAY.

[Succ. 1823. Vivens 1838.]

Doctor Murray was born on the 18th of April, 1768, at Sheepwalk, in the parish of Redcross and county of Wicklow. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Salamanca, where he studied for some years. On his return to Ireland, he was appointed a curate in the parish of St. Paul, Dublin, whence he was shortly afterwards changed to that of Arklow. Here he continued until the outrages of 1798 compelled him to seek refuge in the metropolis, where he was soon afterwards attached to St. Andrew's parish, and thence, after a short interval, removed to St. Mary's. In 1805, on the consecration of Doctor Ryan to the coadjutorship of Ferns, he was named prebendary of Wicklow and parish priest of Clontarf, but he declined the latter preferment. On the 30th of June, 1809, at the instance of his illustrious predecessor, he was, as before suggested, appointed Archbishop of Hierapolis and coadjutor of Dublin, and consecrated as such in Liffey-street Chapel on the 30th of November in this year, Doctor Troy officiating as consecrator, and Doctors Delany and Ryan as assistants. On the 16th of January in the following year, after a sojourn of several months in the French capital, with the object of soliciting restitution of the property belonging to the religious establishments of Irish Catholics in that country, he had the satisfaction to obtain an ordinance, whereby, "in consequence of the remonstrance of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ire-

land, relative to the superintendence which they have a right to exercise over the application of the property belonging to their houses, and taking into consideration the wish expressed by those prelates, the Sieur Ferris was ordered to resign the functions of administrator-general of the Irish colleges in France, and to deliver up to his successor, the moneys, deeds, moveables, and effects, belonging to those establishments;" and the late Reverend Paul Long was thereupon nominated administrator-general of all the Irish establishments in France.

On the death of Doctor Troy in 1823, Doctor Murray succeeded to the archbishopric, and in 1825 was one of the prelates who drew up the pastoral instructions to the clergy and laity of Ireland, exhorting the former to the fulfilment of all their obligations;—the steadfast maintenance of an exemplary life, "the exemplary life of a pastor preaches more eloquently to his parishioners than all his sermons or exhortations;"—the vigilant administration of the holy sacraments; "nothing can excuse you from the discharge of this duty; nothing can exempt you; not labour, not fatigue, nor watching, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold; you can have no just cause of delay, when pressed on by an obligation so strict and so important;"—zeal in promoting the honour and love of God, but, "in order that zeal be efficient and produce fruit, it must be governed and directed by prudence and charity, that charity which is benign, and bears all, and suffers all;"—vigilance in the moral instruction of children, "because, on their religious

education depends not only their own happiness, but also that of the Church and of the State; labour for them, as you have hitherto done, through good report and evil report, seeking aid to assist you in the godly work of their education, when you can obtain it without a compromise of their most precious faith, or of that salutary discipline which surrounds and protects it as the walls and ramparts do a city. Turn away from them every insidious wile of the deceiver or the deceived; and, whilst you study to have peace with all men, do not forget, that you are watchmen on the towers of the city of God to detect the ambuscades of her enemies. . . . . Engrave upon the tender hearts of the little ones the obedience they owe to God, to their parents, to their prince, and to all who are placed in authority over them, to inspire them with a horror of vice, and a love of virtue;"—the relief of the poor: "your door is the first at which the tale of distress, or the cry of misery is heard; let the poor always find in you the sympathy of a father, the heart, the bowels of tenderness and compassion;"—the comforting of the sick, especially, "at that awful hour, which is, perhaps, to decide their eternal lot; the sinner, at that moment seeing that every thing is disappearing from his eyes, that this world and the desires thereof, have passed away, that he himself is passing like a shadow, will listen with more attention to your pious exhortations, he will yield to your sighs and to your tears;"—the amicable adjustment of quarrels and disputes; "seat yourselves down like angels of peace in the midst of the dissensions, which may,

through human infirmity, occur between your people, and reconcile, by the sweetness of your manner and the attractions of grace, hearts, which for a moment may have been alienated from each other."—"Remember, then," concludes the document, "that an ecclesiastic, whether officiating in the sanctuary, or dwelling in the midst of the world, should appear and be a man of superior mind and exalted virtue; a man whose example can improve society, whose irreproachable manners can reflect honour on the Church and add to the glory and splendour of religion; a man, whose modesty should be apparent to all men, as the apostle recommends, and who should be clothed with justice, according to the expression of a prophet." This summary of the qualifications and duties of a Christian divine has been thus largely extracted, as affording the most eloquent illustration of Doctor Murray's life and character. "Of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh." What he inculcated, himself effected, what he prescribed he practised; unshaken, unstained, by even the ruder assaults of an Irish element, he stands forth a pillar of strength and ornament to the temple of his faith.

It but remains to state, that in April, 1829, the long deferred measure, that would have made millions happy, received the royal assent; and those cruel enactments against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and laity, which intolerance had devised in the days of Elizabeth, and rapine and fanaticism pressed into their service during those of the Stuarts; those penalties and disabilities, which, from the time of the

accession of the illustrious house of Brunswick had been successively deprecated—relaxed—disused, were on this welcome occasion utterly abolished. In necessary connexion with the latter portion of these memoirs, it has been an unwelcome duty to recal some of the bitter inflictions of that penal code, as well in the earlier period of its growth and vigour, as in the times when, although politically only suffered to wear out its strength, it was too frequently brought forward in mischievous action by evil governors and selfish subjects. It has been however the object of the author, in introducing such allusions, as far as possible to avoid giving any opinions or comments of his own, or pertinaciously censuring those of others when fairly and honourably dissentient from his. The course of his life has been studiously removed from party excitements and unholy bigotries, and he fondly indulges the hope, he may live to see the day, when on their utter extinction, peace, brotherly love, industry, and universal liberty may smile upon his native land.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

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